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ART. I.—*Reliques of Robert Burns; consisting chiefly of original Letters, Poems, and critical Observations on Scottish Songs. Collected and published by R. H. Cromek. 8vo. pp. 453. Cadell and Davies. 1808.*

IN almost every dispute that has agitated the minds of men, from the grand controversy between Arius and the Athanasians, down to the petty squabbles about the authenticity of Ireland and Chatterton, it has been the fashion to employ the weapons of general invective, which are wholly irresistible by any other mode than that of recrimination. In this species of warfare, it would be very difficult, on any occasion, to say with which party the advantage rested. The principal benefit to either, seems to consist in the excessive cheapness and readiness of the instruments; but, where the defence is equally easy with the attack, we cannot venture to flatter the assailant with hopes of attaining any very great superiority from the use of them. For this reason, men of sense and moderation have actually begun to doubt their efficacy upon any occasion; and the terms 'ignorance and ill-liberality,' have been adopted more sparingly; since, in the opinion of thinking people, they have done greater mischief to their employers than to those against whom they are levelled. Under this impression, we lately discovered nothing 'ill-liberal' in the pleasure which some gentlemen appeared to derive from the circumstance of a book (in their opinion very valuable) being 'sealed up' from the curiosity of nine tenths of the readers of this country; although we indulged a little mirth at the expence of a feeling so totally dissonant from our own habits of reflection. Under the same impression, we are not at all disconcerted at finding employed against ourselves the very weapons of which we thus know the futility, especially since they are accompanied by an evident misrepresentation of our own arguments.

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We did not compare the dialect of Scotland with the dialects of Lancashire and Somerset. But we illustrated the absurdity of exultation in the case before us by the greater absurdity which would be evinced by a native of either of the English counties who should affect to set a value on the vulgar provincialisms of his own neighbourhood. Nor do we find any reason for retracting a word which we then advanced, the allowable exaggeration of ridicule only excepted. England and Scotland have been for more than a century incorporated together. For more than two centuries they have been administered by the same governors. Their language is originally and fundamentally the same; and it is for the interest of both that all childish and trifling distinctions should be gradually done away and abolished. During the last fifty years the levelling operations of time in this respect have been very constant and rapid; and whatever indulgence we may allow to prejudices which are derived from the recollections and associations of childhood, we do not think our approbation due to those whose *provincial* vanity (we must persist in employing a term which we use from no unworthy or *illiberal* motive,) whose *provincial* vanity would seek to perpetuate the shew of a distinction which in reality ought long since to have existed no more.

As to the comparative merits of the English language and that dialect of it which is used in Scotland, we certainly are no fit judges; but no more are they who pretend to regard the dialect with such enthusiastic veneration. The opinion of nine tenths of the nation deserves at least to be weighed in equal scales against that of the remaining part; and we will venture to say that to those nine tenths there is more music in an English than in a Scottish stanza. But even admitting the contrary to be the case, and that the language of the Scottish ballad-writers, is intrinsically more poetical than that of Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden, still it must be remembered that the dialect spoken in so comparatively small a district will never be the language of the whole country, and that it is an object with most writers of sense to be generally, and if possible universally understood. We do not acknowledge the Scottish dialect to possess any superiority over the vulgar tongue, but let us instance in the Greek language, which we do confess and believe to be ten times more sonorous, more copious, more flexible to all the purposes and effects of harmony, than our own: yet we neither think highly of the sense of those scholars who now a days devote their time and abilities to Greek composition, nor do we hold up their performances, exulting that they are unintelligible beyond the precincts of Eton and Winchester College.

We cannot therefore retract in any degree, the opinion formerly advanced by us on this subject—So far from thinking it a cause of triumph that the works of a good author are *sealed* against the great majority of readers, it ought only to be matter of regret that a single line occurs inaccessible to the general comprehension of the whole world. We do not mean to say that to a certain extent, and in a certain class of composition, the adoption of the Scottish dialect may not bestow a peculiar grace, the absence of which would be ill compensated by the advantages of correct and polished language. But the extent of this licence should (in our opinion) be very limited indeed. We would exclude from it the use of all words or phrases which are not easily and immediately intelligible to a mere English-reader; we would confine the privilege, even when thus curtailed, to the single class of pastoral and familiar poetry: and we would forbid its exercise to all but those with whose habits of thinking and speaking the dialect is, as it were, entirely identified, whose degree of intercourse with polished society has not been such as to abstract them from the use of it in the common course of life, nor, consequently, to throw an air of affectation upon their adoption of it in poetry.

Thus circumstanced, and thus privileged, was Burns. His situation in life was the cause, as it is the full and complete justification, of his adopting a style of poetry, which, in a member of refined society, we should condemn as the worst of affectation. But even here we shall venture a remark which, if ever heard beyond the Tweed, will probably excite such an outcry against the southern folk as has never been heard since the union of the kingdoms. It is this—that generally speaking, those works of Burns which are most English, both in words and idiom, are *incomparably* the most harmonious, tender, and empassioned; and that, in his longest and most highly esteemed performances, *by far* the finest passages are (except in the spelling) English. To instance this observation in the songs written by him for Thompson's collection of music, the best of which are, perhaps, the best of all his compositions; the most remarkable for their exquisite harmony of numbers and grace of expression, in which he stands almost equal to a competition with Horace himself. Will any Scotchman point out to us amidst this collection a strain more tender and poetical than in his "Highland Mary?" Yet that most beautiful effusion flowed spontaneously from the heart, and it contains not a single word that is *sealed* against a southern reader. There is no *seal* upon this exquisitely graceful stanza of another song;

for Yestreen is far from being an unintelligible, and is moreover a very pretty word.

' Yestreen when to the trembling string,
The dance gaed thro' the lighted ha ?
To thee my fancy took its wing,
I sat, but neither heard or saw :
Tho' this was fair and that was braw,
And yon the toast of a' the town,
I sigh'd, and said among them a',
' Ye are na' Mary Morison.'

"Wandering Willie," can reach every heart without the aid of a glossary: the pathetic delicacy of the two last lines in particular, (which perhaps are unrivalled) is felt, as it is expressed, in good English.

' But if he's forgotten his faithfulest Nanie,
O still flow between us, thou wide roaring main;
May I never see it, may I never throw it,
But dying believe that my Willie's my ain.'

No *seal* but that of a noble mind and an ardent genius, is fixed upon the glorious battle-song of "Bannockburn;" and the last mournful effort of his expiring muse is English, even to the orthography of almost every word.

' Here's a health to ane I lo'e dear,
Here's a health to ane I lo'e dear,
Thou art sweet as the smile when fond lovers meet,
And soft as their parting tear—Jessie !

' *Although thou maun never be mine,*
Although even hope is denied.
'Tis sweeter for thee despairing
Than aught in the world beside—Jessie !'

Of his larger works, the beautiful poem of 'the Vision,' is (with the exception of the first eight stanzas, which, although containing some very picturesque description, can hardly be esteemed equal to what follows) *strictly and uniformly* English. Can the most national of Scots find a single passage in the *sealed* poems that can be compared with his picture of the Genius Coila ?

' A hair-brained, sentimental trace
Was strongly marked in her face,
A wildly witty, rustic grace
Shone full upon her ;
Her eye, ev'n turn'd on empty space,
Beam'd keen with honour.'

Or where are the too general eccentricities of an ardent poetical character, so forcibly, so feelingly delineated as in the lines which the guardian spirit addresses to Burns himself?

'When youthful love, warm-blushing, strong,
Keen shivering, shot thy nerves along,
Those accents, grateful to thy tongue,
Th' adored name,
I taught thee how to pour in song,
To soothe thy flame.

'I saw thy pulse's maddening play
Wild send thee Pleasure's devious way,
Misled by fancy's meteor ray,
By passion driven;
But yet the light which led astray
Was light from Heaven.'

To these examples we must add one more observation, which we hold to be of the highest importance to the present question. All Burns's poems which relate to *himself* or to circumstances immediately connected with *his own life and feelings*, are (we believe without exception) remarkably free from any mixture of the Scottish dialect; a convincing proof that he wrote more *easily and naturally*, as well as more successfully, in English. We need only mention the well-known address 'To Mary in Heaven,' 'The Lament,' the ode entitled 'Despondency,' 'Prayer in prospect of Death,' the 'stanzas on the same occasion,' and the Farewell to Ayr, which he wrote in contemplation of his voyage to America, to bear witness to the truth of our remark, and to repel the argument of those who falsely assert that *the sealed language* is the most *natural* to the inhabitants of Scotland. All the poems we have instanced, and many more which are strictly English, were the spontaneous effusions of the heart, a widely different periods of life, and called out by every variety of situation that can be supposed, to have had the strongest and most immediate influence upon the feelings of the poet. On the other hand almost all the compositions which are strongly marked with the peculiarities of the dialect are at the same time comparatively forced and laboured.

Shall we now be justified in asserting that if Burns had never written a poem in the Scottish language—(by which we mean a poem standing in need of a glossary,)—his reputation would have been quite as high and as deservedly so, as it is at present? Certainly not, in the opinion of those who consider his 'Halloween,' his 'Tam o' Shanter,' or even his 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' as the best of his performances.

But from such opinions, if there are any persons ready to maintain them, we must express our total dissent. We shall perhaps, expose ourselves to great censure if we express a doubt whether too much stress has not been laid by the admirers of the poet upon his talent for humour; yet that doubt we certainly do, rather strongly, entertain. But, even were it altogether removed, that quality is in itself so far inferior to other high and transcendent gifts of genius which Burns undoubtedly possessed, that we might even then repeat our assertion, that the reputation of Burns does not rest in any degree on the poems which are generally adduced as specimens of unrivalled excellence in that department. Venturing even thus far with fear and trembling, how shall we express the dread with which we whisper an idea that neither ought 'The Cotter's Saturday Night,' to be ranked among the very first of Burns's works? Our critical functions have not rendered us insensible to the charms of natural and simple poetry; nor can we contemplate without emotion the lively picture of manners, or the yet more interesting reflection of 'a poet's heart,' which that pleasing composition presents. Nevertheless, the impression made by it on our minds is by no means equal to that produced by many of his works that are much less considerable in themselves as well as less generally known and admired. Compared with these, it appears to us a laboured and artificial performance; nor can we discover any traces of that inimitable grace and felicity of expression, which constitute the most distinguishing and characteristic charm of Burns's poetry. However, we might perhaps have admitted the excellence of the 'Cotter's Saturday Night' without injury to our general argument, since the *sealed* words and phrases which it contains amount to very few in number, the best of the stanzas being positively English; nor, were the Scotticisms much more numerous and glaring, would the poem in question afford more than one solitary exception to the rule which we venture to maintain.

The anxiety which we feel to impress on the minds of our readers that our opinion on this subject is not assumed without reflection, nor wholly the effect of 'ignorance and ill-liberality,' has however carried us very wide of our direct object, certainly much more so than the limits of a monthly journal will in general warrant. We must seem to have forgotten that we are not reviewing the whole circle of Scottish poetry, nor even the works of Burns, but a small portion only of the latter which the industry of a collector has now for the first time presented to the public.

Mr. Cromek appears, indeed, to have been most assiduous

and indefatigable in his researches. The warm admiration of Burns's genius which prompted this undertaking, demands our respect. We are grateful to Mr. Cromek for what he has done, though the extent of his success may not be fully answerable to the labour of the undertaking. We should indeed have imagined that it might have been no difficult matter to discover, among the scenes of the poet's principal haunts, many more remnants of his compositions which had eluded the vigilance of Dr. Currie, his former editor and biographer. And this supposition might appear to be justified by the rambling and desultory nature of Burns's life and character. But if any such expectations have been formed, we think this publication of Mr. Cromek's calculated to put an immediate end to them; since by far the greatest part of the contents of the volume is such as may be conceived to have past under Dr. Currie's eye, and been rejected by him as too inconsiderable to claim insertion in his edition. Yet even in that edition there are many things which a cautious friend might have been inclined to omit out of regard to the unfortunate poet's memory.

We shall now proceed to point out to the notice of our readers a few of the contents which seem to have best repaid the labour of the collector.

The first enquiry which every lover of Burns will make is, whether any and what additions have been made to his poetical remains.

There are a few little epistles to friends, most of them in the broad Scottish dialect, bearing evident marks of the author, but *very far indeed* from being in the best style even of his familiar pieces. We will however select two or three stanzas from that 'To the Reverend John M'Math,' for the entertainment of our pious friends, the methodists, a description of men with whose characters Burns has, on more than one occasion, made very free.

' God knows, I'm no the thing I should be,
Nor am I even the thing I could be,
But twenty times I rather would be
 An atheist clean,
Than under gospel colours hid be
 Just for a screen.

' An honest man may like a glass,
An honest man may like a lass,
But mean revenge, an' malice fause
 He'll still disdain,
An' then cry zeal for gospel laws,
 Like some we ken.

' They take religion in their mouth ;
 They talk of mercy, grace, and truth,
 For what ? to gie their malice skouth
 On some puir wight,
 An' hunt him down, o'er right an' ruth,
 To ruin straight.' P. 394.

Among the miscellaneous poems that follow, we can hardly distinguish any one which is worth the pains that were probably taken to recover it ; but we must remark that the elegy ' to the Owl,' which Mr. Cromek supposes to be Burns's, because found in his own hand-writing, appears to us to contain internal evidence to the contrary, strong enough, even without the annexed name of a real or imaginary author (John M'Creddie), to repel the presumption arising from that circumstance. Some of the stanzas are certainly pretty ; but it is, upon the whole, very common-place, and does not possess, as far as we can discover, one characteristic mark of Burns's style, either of expression or feeling.

The first of the songs ' Evan Banks,' is, if we are not mistaken, already familiar to the public.* It possesses great charms of poetry, and uncommon tenderness of sentiment, and is perhaps altogether in the author's best style of composition ; but it appeared to us so well known that we sought almost with a certainty of finding it, in Dr. Currie's collection. There, however, we failed to discover it, and cannot now recollect where we have met with it before.

The fragment of a ' patriotic' song, annexed to the old burthen of ' Here's a health to them that's awa,' is in a very different style, but strikes us as so characteristic of the writer, besides being very spirited in itself, as to deserve our selection

' Here's a health to them that's awa',
 Here's a health to them that's awa' ;
 And wha winna wish gude luck to our cause,
 May never gude luck be their fa' !
 It's gude to be merry and wise,
 It's gude to be honest and true,
 It's gude to support Caledonia's cause,
 And bide by the buff and the blue.

* In writing the above we were not aware of a circumstance which we have since learned from a critique on this book in the Quarterly Review. It is there stated that the song of ' Evan Banks' has been falsely attributed to Burns, and that the credit of it actually belongs to Helen Maria Williams. It appeared in the first edition of Burns's works by Dr. Currie, and was omitted by him in the later impressions in consequence of the discovery he had made of its real author. This account certainly implies an unpardonable negligence in Mr. Cromek.

' Here's a health, &c.

Here's a health to Charlie the chief of the clan,
Altho' that his band be but sma'.

May liberty meet with success !

May prudence protect her frae evil !

May tyrants and tyranny tane in the mist,

And wander their way to the Devil !

' Here's a health, &c.

Here's a health to Tammie, the Norland laddie,
That lives at the lug of the law !

Here's freedom to him that wad read !

Here's freedom to him that wad write !

There's nane ever fear'd that the truth should be heard,

But they wham the truth wad indite.

' Here's a health, &c.

Here's Chieftain M'Leod, a Chieftain worth gowd,

Tho' bred amang mountains o' snaw !

* * * * *

All our readers must remember the song of ' O whistle and I'll come to you, my lad.'—The following is greatly inferior; but the second stanza contains a similar turn of expression, and, if the former had never been written, might be esteemed very beautiful. As it is, the air of simple tenderness is attractive, and we regret only the Scotch words which disfigure it.

' I'll ay ca' in by yon town,

And' by yon' garden green again ;

I'll ay ca' in by yon town,

And see my bonie Jean again.

' There's nane sall ken, there's nane sall guess,

What brings me back the gate again,

But she my fairest, faithful lass,

And stownlins* we sall meet again.

' She'll wander by the aiken tree,

When trystin-time† draws near again ;

And when her lovely form I see,

O haith, she's doubly dear again !

No lover of Burns will be displeased at the discovery of a stanza in addition to one of the sweetest that he ever composed. We print the new one in italics. The other is to be found in Dr. Currie's edition.

' Out over the Forth I look to the North,

But what is the North and its Highlands to me ?

The South nor the East gie ease to my heart,

The far foreign land, or the wild rolling sea.

* Stownlins, by stealth.

† Trystin-time, the time of appointment.

' But I look to the West, when I gae to my rest,
That pleasant my dreams and my slumber may be ;
For far in the west lives he I lo'e best,
The lad that is dear to my babie and me.'

Upon the whole, though we do not think that any of the poems collected by Mr. Cromek possess so much merit as to add to the already high and immovable reputation of their author, yet most of them are of sufficient value to entitle their preserver to the thanks of all those who are warm and genuine admirers of the poet.

The poetical collections occupy, however, but a small portion of the present volume. The remainder is filled with letters, with an entertaining collection of ' Strictures on Scottish songs and ballads,' taken from a MS. book of the poet's, and with further copious extracts from the common place-book, which had before furnished Dr. Currie with a considerable portion of biographical matter.

Of Burns's letters we have already had more than enough in Dr. Currie's edition. We think that those which were given to the world in that publication have been estimated at too high a rate. Many of them are certainly very valuable, as good and honest pictures of a mind which must be contemplated with more mixed sensations of love, admiration, pity, and regret, than that of any man who has ever existed. It is needless, and would be impertinent, to attempt in this place the delineation of a character already so well and so intimately known to all who are likely to be interested in or affected by it. If there are any human beings so lost to the feelings of humanity as to be incapable of appreciating the nobler and better part of that character, we pity their insensibility. The faults and vices which obscured it have met with various measures of censure and extenuation; but, in speaking of Burns, the merciful scale has generally preponderated. This is what we are far from wishing otherwise. If any man can ever be supposed to have received on earth the full measure of pain proportioned to his offences, poor Burns was assuredly that man. Remembering ' how fearfully and wonderfully he was made,' let us withhold our fallible judgment, and restrain the too-ready voice of condemnation. If no man shall be tried but by his equals, where are the equals of *Burns*? Where are they who are qualified to decide in the cause of *his* conscience? But, while we would regard with all possible tenderness the frailties and infirmities of such a man, let us not attempt their justification. Let us veil, but not varnish them,—Silence is more suitable than apology.

We are so decidedly of opinion that, however we may *vulgarly* admire his prose compositions as the productions of a ploughman (a rule by which we entirely agree with all competent judges of his merits that Burns ought never to be estimated), yet his fame must rest solely and exclusively on his character as a poet, that the only letters in this collection to which we shall even refer are two containing specimens of his poetry. The first is directed to John Ballantyne, Esq. and is worth notice as affording the original of one of his most pleasing songs which appears to have been afterwards altered solely for the sake of the measure; but we have no hesitation in pronouncing that the alteration was much for the worse. The reader may, however, judge for himself on this point by referring to the copy given in the fourth volume of Dr. Currie's edition.

' Ye flowery banks o' bonnie Doon,
How can ye blume sae fair;
How can ye chant, ye little birds,
And I sae fu' o' care!

' Thou'll break my heart, thou bonie bird,
That sings upon the bough;
Thou minds me o' the happy days
When my fause luvie was true.

' Thou'll break my heart, thou bonie bird,
That sings beside thy mate:
For sae I sat, and sae I sang,
And wist na o' my fate.

' Aft ha' I rov'd by bonie Doon,
To see the wood-bine twine,
And ilka bird sang o' its love,
And sae did I o' mine.

' Wi' lightsome heart I pu'd a rose
Frae aff its thorny tree,
And my fause lover staw the rose,
But left the thorn wi' me.'

The second is addressed to William Creech, Esq. and contains a poetical lamentation, half serious, and half jesting, for his absence from Scotland. It concludes with some stanzas, conceived in the style of ardent and impetuous feeling, for which the character of Burns was so remarkable, and which accordingly pervades the best and the worst of his compositions.

' Up wimpling stately Tweed I've sped,
And Eden scenes on chrystal Jed,

And Ettrick banks now roaring red
 While tempests blaw ;
 But every joy and pleasure's fled
 Willie's awa' !

' May I be slander's common speech ;
 A text for infamy to preach ;
 And lastly, streckit out to bleach
 In winter snaw ;
 When I forget thee, Willie Creech,
 Tho' far awa' !

' May never wicked fortune touzle him,
 May never wicked men bambouze him !
 Until a pow, as auld's Methusalem,
 He canty claw !
 Then to the blessed new Jerusalem
 Fleet wing awa' !'

The strictures on Scottish songs are interesting, as giving us in many instances the opinion of the poet respecting the merits of compositions to which he was himself so strongly attached, and, in many more, as assigning to their right authors, and fixing to their right dates, or to the peculiar circumstances of their origin, certain well-known and often repeated productions, concerning which the world at large is profoundly ignorant. We shall select a few of the most interesting; but very few, as it is necessary for us to hasten the conclusion of our present article.

The Lass of Peaty's Mill.

' In Sinclair's statistical account of Scotland, this song is localiz'd (a verb I must use for want of another to express my idea) somewhere in the north of Scotland, and likewise is claimed by Ayrshire. The following anecdote I had from the present sir William Cunningham of Robertland, who had it from the last John earl of Loudon. The then earl of Loudon, and father to earl John before mentioned, had Ramsay at Loudon, and one day walking together by the banks of Irvine water, near New-mills, at a place yet called Peaty's mill, they were struck with the appearance of a beautiful country girl. His lordship observed that she would be a fine theme for a song. Alan lagged behind in returning to Loudon castle, and at dinner produced this identical song.'

Tweed-side.

' In Ramsay's Tea-table Miscellany, he tells us that about thirty of the songs in that publication were the works of some young gentlemen of his acquaintance; which songs are marked with

the letters, D, C, &c. Old Mr. Tytler, of Woodhouselee, the worthy and able defender of the beauteous Queen of Scots, told me that the songs marked C, in the Tea-table, were the composition of a Mr. Crawford, of the house of Achnemes, who was afterwards unfortunately drowned coming from France. As Tytler was most intimately acquainted with Allan Ramsey, I think the anecdote may be depended on; of consequence, the beautiful song of 'Tweed-side,' is Mr. Crawford's, and indeed does great honour to his poetical talents. He was a Robert Crawford, the Mary he celebrates, was Mary Stewart of the Castle mill family, afterwards married to a Mr. John Ritchie. I have seen a song, calling itself the original Tweed-side, and said to have been composed by a Lord Yester. It consisted of two stanzas, of which I still recollect the first.

'When Maggy and I was acquaint,
I carried my noddle fu' hie;
Nae lintwhite on a' the green plain,
Nor gowdspink sae happy as me:
But I saw her sae fair, and I lo'ed;
I woo'd, but I came nae great speed,
So now I maun wander abroad:
And lay my banes far frae the Tweed.'

Mary's Dream.

'The Mary here alluded to is generally supposed to be Miss Mary Macghie, daughter to the laird of Airds in Galloway. The poet was a Mr. Alexander Lowe, who likewise wrote another beautiful song called Pompey's ghost. I have seen a poetic epistle from him in North America, where he now is, or lately was, to a lady in Scotland. By the strain of the verses, it appeared that they allude to some love disappointment.'

We are glad to find the judgment of Burns confirming our own opinion as to the despicable silliness of *Scoticizing* a good old English song. Yet there is hardly a young lady in the kingdom that sits at a piano-forte, or stands at the back of the musician's chair, but she begins the concert with murdering poor Dr. Percy by the detestable jargon of 'O Nanie, will thou gang wi' me.' Burns says, however,

'It is too barefaced to take Dr. Percy's charming song, and by the means of transposing a few English words into Scots, to offer to pass it for a Scots song. I was not acquainted with the editor until the first volume was nearly finished, else, had I known it in time, I would have prevented such an impudent absurdity.'

There are, besides, observations which cannot be read without great interest, on some of the author's own original

compositions; but we have no room to select any in this article, except one which (as well as Mr. Cromek's subjoined note) it would be sacrilege to omit, as referring to some of the most beautiful poems he ever wrote and to the most affecting incident he ever experienced.

'The Highland Lassie, O.'

'This was a composition of mine in very early life, before I was at all known in the world. My Highland Lassie was a warm-hearted, charming young creature as ever blessed a man with generous love. After a pretty long tract of the most ardent reciprocal attachment, we met by appointment, on the second Sunday of May, in a sequestered spot by the banks of Ayr, where we spent the day in taking a farewell, before she should embark for the West Highlands, to arrange matters among her friends for our projected change of life. At the close of autumn following she crossed the sea to meet me at Greenock, where she had scarce landed when she was seized with a malignant fever, which hurried my dear girl to the grave in a few days, before I could even hear of her illness.'

Mr. Cromek's note on this most affecting passage is as follows.

'There are events in this transitory scene of existence, seasons of joy or of sorrow, of despair or of hope, which as they powerfully affect us at the time, serve as epochs to the history of our lives. They may be termed the trials of the heart. We treasure them deeply in our memory, and, as time glides silently away, they help us to number our days. Of this character was the parting of Burns from his Highland Mary, that interesting female, the first object of the youthful poet's love. This adieu was performed with all those simple and striking ceremonials which rustic sentiment has devised to prolong tender emotions and to inspire awe. The lovers stood on each side of a small purling brook; they laved their hands in its limpid stream, and holding a bible between them, pronounced their vows to be faithful to each other. They parted—never to meet again! The anniversary of Mary Campbell's death (for that was her name) awakening in the sensitive mind of Burns the most lively emotions, he retired from his family, then residing in the farm of Ellisland, and wandered, solitary on the banks of the Nith, and about the farm-yard, in the extremest agitation of mind, nearly the whole of the night. His agitation was so great that he threw himself on the side of a corn-stack, and there conceived his sublime and tender elegy—his address to *Mary in Heaven*.'

We are unable to prolong this article by entering on an examination of the contents of Burns's common place-book, which forms the remaining portion of the volume. This we the less regret since it is impossible to peruse them without

a great deal of pain, and also since the specimens before given by Dr. Currie are sufficient to teach our readers what they are to expect from the additional fragments here subjoined.

Upon the whole though we perhaps expected the recovery of some more important 'Reliques,' from Mr. Cromek's ardent and painful search, we must express ourselves, in the name of all the admirers of Burns, much indebted to him for the trouble he has taken, and for the pleasure which that trouble has procured us; and we have no doubt that every lover of the poet will consider Mr. Cromek's volume as a desirable appendage to those already published by Dr. Currie.

ART. II.—*An historical Review of the Commercial, Political, and Moral State of Hindostan, from the earliest Period to the present Time; the Rise and Progress of Christianity in the East, its present Condition, and the Means and Probability of its future Advancement, with an Introduction and Map illustrating the relative Situation of the British Empire in the East.* By Robert Chatfield, LL. B. Vicar of Chatteris, in Cambridgeshire. 4to. Richardson. 1808.

THE commerce of the east seems, from the earliest period, to have had a striking influence on the fortunes of the west. The nations which have enjoyed it have risen above their contemporaries in wealth and power. The shores of the Red Sea, of the Euxine, and the Mediterranean, were in ancient times enriched and civilized by this traffic. Thebes and Memphis seem to have owed much of their pristine grandeur to this circumstance; Tyre and Sidon, Colchis, Alexandria, and Palmyra, were in a great degree indebted to it for the splendour which they once possessed. Their prosperity, like that of Venice in a later period, sunk when they ceased to be the marts of eastern merchandize. It was the commerce of the east which formerly raised Portugal and Holland to the first rank of European powers; and though Great Britain may have other sources of greatness, yet one of the principal has certainly been her unparalleled extension of commerce in the east.

The population of the world seems to have had its origin in the east; and the region, which was first peopled, was certainly the first to cultivate the useful and elegant arts. The luxuriant fertility of the soil and the genial nature of the climate, left the inhabitants at leisure to exercise their industry on something beyond the mere necessities of life.

The desire of attaining the commodities of the east operated in a very remote period as a powerful incentive to the active and improvable powers of man in Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, Phœnicia, and Greece.

Alexander the Great, who is one of the few conquerors whose death may be regarded as premature, seems to have entertained very correct and philosophic notions respecting the importance of eastern commerce. He considered it as the principal means of improving the condition, and increasing the civilization of his extensive dominions; his conquests were, in a great measure, rendered subservient to this end; and Alexandria was very easily chosen to be the future emporium of eastern wealth. The wisdom of those commercial projects, which Alexander had conceived, was confirmed by the subsequent arrangements of the Ptolemies in Egypt; under whose sovereignty Alexandria attained the highest pitch of prosperity and magnificence. In the accomplishment of this scheme the Ptolemies had difficulties to encounter, which the greater power and resources of Alexander would easily have surmounted.

The conquest of Egypt was highly valued by the Romans, not only on account of the supplies of corn, with which that rich country furnished the capital, but on account of the lucrative commerce which it maintained with the east.

‘The effects of the immense accession of wealth brought from these sources into the Roman treasury were soon perceived; they not only altered the value of property, doubled the price of provisions and merchandize, but introduced a total change in the state of manners of Rome itself.’

As the demand for the productions of India increased in the Roman capital, the Nile was found insufficient for the general supply; and a communication was opened by means of caravans between the Persian gulph, the Euphrates, and Palmyra, or Tadmor in the desert, and thence to the coasts of Syria and Palestine.

‘Some commerce with India by this route,’ says Mr. Chatfield, ‘had long existed; but it was at this time so considerably increased, and had so much augmented the resources of the country through which it passed, that the princes of Palmyra were not only enabled to extend their conquests into Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and a part of Asia Minor, but even to contend for the succession to the imperial purple with the warlike Aurelian.’

Under the genius of Mahomed and his successors, the Arabians, emerging from their obscurity and indolence, assumed a new and more permanent character, of vigour, of en-

terprize, and of industry. Bagdat, under a renowned dynasty of caliphs, became celebrated for its treasures and magnificence. Bussorah, founded by the caliph Omar,

‘commanded the intercourse of the adjoining countries with the coasts of India, and received the wealth of the caravans of Persia and Arabia.’—‘The rich silks, the campfire, and the porcelain, transparent as glass, from China, and the gold gems and perfumes of India and its islands, which contributed to adorn the palaces of Bagdad and Damascus.’

Constantinople, at the same period, unwilling to forego the advantages of the eastern trade, re-opened the communication by which the Colchians, Phœnicians, and Greeks, had formerly procured the products and manufactures of Hindostan. The subjugation of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453, proved eventually beneficial to Europe. It served to dispel the darkness which popish superstition had spread over Europe, by exciting the intellectual activity of mankind and promoting a passion for the literature of a better period. A new spirit of enquiry and of enterprize was awakened, which, whatever direction it took, tended to enlarge the boundary of knowledge and the sphere of activity, to increase the resources, and to augment the comforts and conveniences of social life.

In the beginning of the 15th century, the mariner's compass, which is said to have been the discovery of a citizen of Amalfi in the 12th, began to be generally and successfully applied to the purposes of navigation. The Portuguese had for a considerable time directed their attention to the subject of maritime discovery; and the Cape of Good Hope, which had been discovered by Bartholomew Dias in 1486, was passed by Vaquez de Gama in 1492. Vaquez de Gama arrived on the 20th of May, 1497, on the coast of Malabar, which was then ‘the most flourishing port in the peninsula of India, and the principal residence of the zamorin or emperor.’

The first appearance of these strangers was welcomed by the hospitable attentions of the native princes; ‘every encouragement was shewn to their commerce; and with the Arabian merchants they might easily have divided the wealth of the east.’ But the Portuguese were stimulated not only by avarice but by ambition, and they meditated the conquest of the country, and the subjection of the inhabitants. Their designs soon became evident to the native princes; and the zamorin would gladly have expelled a people whom he had so lately welcomed to his shores. But the Portuguese omitted no means of consolidating their

power against the natives of India, and of securing their commercial monopoly against the rivalry of Europe. They formed a settlement at Ormuz, by which they obtained the command of the Persian gulph; they built a fort at Cape Aden; they took possession of Socotora; they seized the city of Goa, in the island of Ceylon; and the coast of Molucca and the Spice Islands became subject to their sway. During a century the Portuguese, who had superseded the Arabians and the Venetians, enjoyed the exclusive possession of the Indian trade. The Dutch were the first who made a successful effort to dispossess them of the dominion which they had usurped. In 1602, the Dutch conquered the Portuguese settlers in Ceylon, when they rendered their victory infamous by the most barbarous atrocities.

The British merchants incited by the increasing opulence of the Dutch, ventured gradually into the ports of the Indian seas; the hatred which the Dutch and Portuguese had inspired by their cruelty and extortion, favoured the attempt.

‘Before the death of Elizabeth some alliances had been entered into with the native princes; and a few inconsiderable factories had been settled at Surat and Brampour, under the capricious grants of the court of Delhi, whose favour had been partially conciliated by the embassy and rich presents of Sir Thomas Roe.’

The first charter of the English East India Company was granted by Elizabeth in 1601. It was to continue fifteen years; but it was confirmed by James I. before its expiration. From 1653 to 1657 the trade was left in a great measure open; and at no period does it appear to have flourished more. After the restoration of Charles II. a new charter was granted under new regulations, and no one was allowed to trade to India without the licence of the company. In 1691, the House of Commons addressed the King to dissolve the old company, and to incorporate a new, but ‘the king hesitated, and the interest of the company being effectually exerted, their licence was continued for three years.’ In 1694, a new charter was obtained;

‘the most infamous bribery was employed to procure the favour of the house and the ministers; and some of the most active of the Directors, refusing to disclose their secret practices in their examination before the House of Commons, were committed to the Tower.’

‘A division now ensued among the members of the company itself, and the new subscribers traded separately to India. In this interval of factious contention the Dutch seized upon the greatest part of the trade, and

* the affairs of both companies were involved in such confusion that, for the sake even of public tranquillity, they were consolidated by the queen (Anne) under the present name of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

It was not till the war which broke out in Europe in 1756, that the English began to acquire an ascendant in India. In 1761 Pondicherry was taken from the French, who were deprived of all their possessions from Cape Comorin to the mouths of the Ganges. A formidable confederacy was afterwards formed against the English interest by the native princes, whose jealousies had been excited by their victories in the Carnatic; but the attempt was frustrated by the battle of Buxar, by which the deposed emperor, Shah Allum, who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Nabob Visier of Oude, Shujah-ul Dowlah, was brought a suppliant into the English camp. The provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the Northern Circars were ceded to the English.

* From the year 1765, until this period, Bengal had enjoyed a greater share of tranquillity than any other part of India; rebellion was unknown; and the people lived peaceably under the auspices of a government whose security had been established by conquest, and whose efforts might now be directed to their improvement and happiness. But whilst Bengal and its immediate dependencies were in full possession of peace, the other provinces of the empire became a prey to all the miseries of war. If little can be urged in vindication of the English, who "to gratify a rapacious ally, and without even acquiring an adequate benefit to the state, effected the destruction of the Rohillas—a nation against whom they could not fabricate a specious cause of complaint;" if the government of India has been justly branded with terms of reproach, for levying unjust wars, and for an improper interference with the native powers; in this instance, "the war with Tippoo," it must stand acquitted to all the world: it was called upon in defence of an old and faithful ally, the Rajah of Travancore, who had been wantonly attacked, to counteract the ambition of a perfidious prince, whose plans were all directed for their extirpation; and who, by secret treaties with the French, and intrigues with the native princes, was plotting the ruin of the British power and influence. The very subjects of the Sultan were ripe for revolt, and his inhuman cruelties had impressed their minds with the strongest principles of disgust and aversion. The designs of Tippoo on the Carnatic had not been diverted by the memory of former defeats. Disappointments seemed only to have added fresh stings to revenge, and to have sharpened his sagacity for the improvement of his resources: nor were the warlike chieftains who inhabit the frontiers towards the Indus (Guzzurat), or the Poonah and Berar Mahratta, less anxious to shake off the yoke of a power whose influence they had been taught to dread, and whose victories and reputation checked their own designs of conquest and

dominion. With such dispositions, causes of complaint were easily found; the conspiracy was, besides, fomented by all the weight of foreign influence. But this new confederacy proved not more fortunate than those which had preceded it, and tended only to increase the lustre of the British arms, and complete the subjection of India. The plans of Tippoo were ripe for execution, when the Marquis Wellesley assumed in 1798 the supreme direction of the government in India. The precarious state to which the company would have been reduced by the combination of so many powerful enemies, required the immediate adoption of the wisest measures to defeat it. By a judicious movement of the British troops in the Northern Circars, in concert with the Nizam's cavalry, the capital of Hyderabad was rescued from the influence of Monsieur Peron's army, and the power of the enemy checked, in a quarter where his presence would have been peculiarly dangerous. The discomfiture of his ally delayed, but did not alter the designs of Tippoo; and he only waited an opportunity to attack the conqueror when less prepared for resistance. But the glorious and successful campaign of 1799, defeated all his hopes, and by his own death gave some respite to the calamities of his country. Tippoo was the last of the Mahomedan princes in the Decan who preserved his independence. In 1799 his capital was again besieged; and being stormed by the British army under General Harris, the Sultan perished, after a gallant resistance, at one of the gates of the fortress. Nothing now remained for the captors but to dispose of the vacant sceptre. The Mahomedan government was destroyed; and a child, descended, as it is said from the Brahmin princes, whom Hyder Ally had unjustly deposed, received the honours of royalty, whilst the real power continued in the hands of those who had elevated him to the throne.

'It was,' says the intelligent and judicious author, 'the policy, the hope, and the resolution of Lord Clive, the founder of our Indian greatness, not to extend the British possession beyond the Bengal provinces and the Circars, with a small tract of land round Madras, and the island of Salsette, near Bombay; these he deemed fully equal to every measure of good policy, and to our powers of keeping possession.'

'The interference of parliament in 1782, strengthened by the two successive acts of 1784 and 1793, seconded the just views and sound policy of Clive, by adopting and enjoining limitations of dominion.'

'In 1782 it was unanimously resolved and declared, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extent of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation.'

Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, had proclaimed the same opinion,

'that to depart from this absolute line of self-defence, unless impelled to it by the most obvious necessity, was dangerous to the security and tranquillity of the provinces.'

The bills which Mr. Fox introduced in 1783, and which occasioned such a violent ferment of party-spirit at the time, were designed to relieve the misery and oppression which the natives of India had suffered from the mismanagement or corruption of the agents of the company. The bill, which was more successfully brought forward by Mr. Pitt in 1784, professed the same end, but tended to the accomplishment by different means. The differences of the two bills partook of the characteristic differences of the two men. The bill of Mr. Fox would have been open and direct in its operations; that of Mr. Pitt was calculated to work its effect by more secret and circuitous means.

We believe that there is no one who contemplates the present state of the East India company, of its financial, its civil or military administration, who will not say that the government of the company again needs the revision of the legislature. New regulations are wanted suited to the present state of things. Whatever may be the future result of the extension of dominion which the territorial sovereignty of the company received under the auspices of the Marquis Wellesley, we cannot but think with the present author, that they have made an injurious impression against our character among foreign nations; that they have weakened our boasted claim to patriotism and integrity; and that they have caused an immense accession to the debt of the company, which, if ever paid, must, in all probability, be added to the burdens of the nation.

* With an increased revenue from the conquered and ceded provinces the company is worse off in 1808 than it was in 1794, because then they had the same surplus of one million, with a debt of only ten millions, instead of a debt, as at present, of thirty millions. The result of Lord Wellesley's administration was an increased revenue of five millions, and a debt contracted of twenty millions sterling. The great accession of territory made under the same government, has necessarily required an increased army, at least so long as the power of France predominates; and it is contended in consequence that the prosperity or ruin of the company's finances in India will depend chiefly on the determination of the king's ministers, in regard to their military establishments, in which alone economy can be practised with effect, the expenditure in the civil service not admitting of any diminution.'

But of whatever enormities the servants of the company may in particular instances have been guilty, or whatever lo-

cal or personal injuries the natives of India may have occasionally sustained, we believe that those parts of Hindostan, which have been subject to British sway, have enjoyed a greater degree of tranquillity, as well as a milder administration, than they have before experienced. The lands of Bengal have been better cultivated, and the condition of the people ameliorated since the grant of that province to the company. The former merciless ravages of the Mahrattas have been restrained.

‘The petty quarrels of rajahs have been reconciled by an appeal to a superior power, whose force, whilst it commands respect from the strong, gives security to the weak.’

‘The evils of famine arising from the nature of the climate and the improvident temper of the natives, have been carefully guarded against by the establishment of public granaries; and whilst other provinces have been suffering extreme hardships, Bengal and its dependencies have since the year 1770 enjoyed comparative abundance.’

‘The general condition of the ryots or sub-tenants has been happily improved. By fixed and moderate assessments their proprietary right in their lands has been acknowledged, and the descent of inheritances regulated according to their own laws.’

It is the fluctuating insecurity of property which has, in a great measure, impeded the progressive civilization of the east, and prevented the gradual improvement of agriculture and manufactures. The arbitrary and capricious exactions of despotic governments, operate as a continual discouragement to industry, and to the accumulation of capital. The mode of levying taxes in the east is not so much by any fixed and equitable rule as by a system of violence and coercion. But this system of tyranny has been discontinued in the provinces which are subject to the government of the company. The condition of the people who are subject to the British sway has been improved, and their happiness augmented. Great Britain has certainly increased her moral responsibility in proportion as she has increased her dominion in the east. She has now more than fifty millions of people subject to her sway; and happy will it be for her if, instead of abusing this sacred trust, or making it subservient to the low purposes of avarice or ambition, she aspires to the more elevated object of conciliating the affections of the people by the gentle and beneficent spirit of her administration.

‘Let our attention,’ says Mr. Chatfield, ‘be now directed to objects of higher moment than the petty details of commercial re-

gulation, or the preservation of an envious (invidious) monopoly; let that benevolence, which is the sublime character of our religion; and that freedom which is the basis of our laws, be extended as far as circumstances will admit, to the natives of the east, who are more immediately under our protection.'

The second part of this erudite and judicious publication relates chiefly to the religious and moral state of the Hindus. In this the learning, good sense, and moderation of the author, are very conspicuous, and entitle him to our warmest praise. The history of the Hindus, though they advance claims to a much higher antiquity, cannot be traced farther back than about two thousand years before Christ.

' Their early historians, as in all infant societies, were their poets, their priests, and their philosophers, and therefore, whatever they relate, is so much involved in mystery and fable, that belief is violated, and the path to truth lost in the mazes of vague and uncertain conjecture.'

' The general opinion of the Pundits, (or learned men) is, that the laws of Brahma were unfolded to his son Menu, in verse, or measured prose, and that these were translated and explained to the world in the words of the book which now goes by the name of the Institutes of Menu.'

The first Menu of the Brahmins is supposed to be the same as the Adam of the Jews, the Christians, and the Moslems; as Sir William Jones conjectures, that the seventh Menu, in whose reign the Hindus believe the whole earth to have been drowned, is the same with the Noah of the scriptures. Some writers assert that Brahma was anciently the king as well as legislator of Hindostan; and that by blending the sanctions of divine wisdom with his civil ordinances, he intended to secure the attachment of his subjects to their country, and to the laws which he had framed.

' The four Beds or Vedas are written in Sanscrit or the pure language, being that of the Deity himself. Very few of the most learned Pundits, and those only who have employed many years of painful study upon this one task, pretend to have the smallest knowledge of the originals, which are now also become extremely scarce and difficult to be found; but sastras or *commentaries* have been written on them from the earliest periods. The traditional Vedas are supposed by Sir William Jones to have been committed to writing and to have received their present form about eight hundred years before Christ; the Sastras afterwards.'

All the preposterous ceremonies which are at present incorporated with Hindu worship, have been ascribed to the Sastras.

'The Vedas, as the ten hermetic books of the Egyptians, the Pentateuch of the Jews, and the Koran of the Moslems, are the fountain and ground work of the religion and jurisprudence of the Hindus. They not only disclose a system of divine ordinances, which explain the duties of man both social and religious, but also comprise treatises on medicine, music, war, and the mechanical arts. The Brahmins possess other bodies of learning, all professedly derived from the same sources; the most esteemed of which are the institutes delivered or remembered from Menu, the first of created beings, their oldest and holiest lawgiver and patriarch. This book deserves a high portion of merit from the spirit of sublime devotion, of benevolence to mankind, of tenderness to all creatures which pervades the whole, together with its perfect knowledge of civil polity, and its provisions against all the exigencies of government, planned with an admirable wisdom, seem to evince that the people for whom it was composed, must have made high advances in civilization, and the state of society been greatly improved before a system, embracing such a variety of subjects, could have been brought to maturity.'

The Vedas teach the immortality of the soul, which they deduce from a reflective survey of life, its various relations, prospects, and dependencies, from the nature of the divine attributes, and from the imperfect distribution of good and evil in this world. The doctrine of a future retribution as inculcated by Menu, was the following: he asserts that.

'as far as vital souls, addicted to sensuality, indulged themselves in forbidden pleasures, even to the same degree shall the acuteness of their senses be raised in their future bodies, that they may endure analogous pains; with whatever disposition of mind a man shall perform in this life any act, moral or religious, in a future body, endued with the same qualities, shall he receive his retribution.'

It was a principle of religion thus wise and thus favourable to purity and to holiness which inspired the gentle Hindoo with a sensitive repugnance to the destruction of animal life; which rendered a simple and vegetable diet, a point of the most imperious duty, while it counteracted the impulses of selfishness, and generated a contempt of death.

The religion of Brahma does not appear to be infected with the spirit of proselytism. Where that spirit prevails, it is usually found to be either the forerunner or the associate of intolerance. But heaven, say the Brahmins,

'is like a palace with many doors, and every one may enter his own way.'—'If the Brahmin be asked to change his creed, and adopt the Christian faith, he pleads that variety in matters of religion could not be displeasing to God, any more than it was in the material world; or had it been the intention of God to produce uniformity in religion, he would have formed all men with the same mind.'

- Bernier says that the Hindus did not pretend

'their law to be universal; that they did not hold Christianity to be false, as, for aught they knew, it might be a good law for us, and that God probably made many roads to heaven.'

In the 3d and 4th chapters of Part II. the author enters into some learned details respecting the religion of China and of Irân or ancient Persia. Ch. 5. treats of the Koran. When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found the Mahomedan religion flourishing amid the Hindus superstitions. It was recorded that the ancient zamorin, or emperor, whose principal residence was at Calicut, had more than six hundred years before their arrival, received the Moors with the greatest hospitality, and having introduced them into credit in his kingdom, had at last embraced their faith. The Koran, not confined to the continent, was diffused over the islands of the eastern ocean, where

'in the earliest ages of Mahomedanism, some of the Arabs, uniting the double character of priest and merchant, had successfully propagated their religious opinions, and firmly established their power.'

The principal excellence of the Koran as a religious code consisted in inculcating the unity of the Deity, which the author asserts to be violated in all the rest of the world. But we think that the merits of this performance which have been too highly extolled both by infidels and believers, have been very correctly appreciated by Volney. 'The whole, says he, 'is a flat, fastidious composition, a chaos of unmeaning phrases, an emphatical exclamation on the attributes of God, from which nothing is to be learned, a collection of puerile tales and ridiculous fables.' Though it is not only the sole religious but civil code of the Moslems, yet 'it conveys no notion either of the relative duties of mankind in society, of the formation of the body politic, of the principles of the art of governing, nothing in fact which constitutes a legislative code.' It establishes 'an absolute despotism in him who governs, and the blindest obedience in him who obeys.' Mahomet did not wish to enlighten men, but to rule over them; he sought not disciples, but subjects; and obedience, not reasoning, is ascribed to subjects.' The author gives a succinct but erudite account of the feuds or sects which prevail among the votaries of the Koran. The Mahomedan religionists seem as little agreed in the exposition of their scriptures as the Christian.

In ch. 6, the author has shewn how the eastern creeds are unfavourable to all religious improvement. In the early

ages of the world the character of king was identified with that of priest. The performance of religious ceremonies was afterwards entrusted to a particular class, who made the influence which they thus acquired in a period of ignorance and superstition, subservient to the interest of the secular power or to their own spiritual domination. The great endeavour of all priests in the early ages of the world was to keep the people in ignorance; and to rule them through the medium of their fears. It needs no argument nor illustration to prove that such a system of imposture, in whatever nation or age it may be practised, whether by Egyptian priests, by Indian brahmins, by Jewish rabbins, by Persian magi, by Turkish imams, or by British druids, must tend to obstruct the intellectual and moral amelioration of man. There is a usage in thinking as well as acting, which may be taught by early impression and rendered habitual by subsequent practice, which may be confirmed by time, and consecrated by traditionary descent, till it seems immovable by the force of reasoning, or impossible to be subverted by an opposite conviction. Opinions may by habit, or association be converted into passions; and we all know that passion is not readily subdued by calm and pacific argumentation. The religious system of the Brahmins present an almost insuperable bar to all innovation. It is fortified almost beyond the assault of human power by habit and by time, by avarice and by pride. Those who have recently adopted the idea of effecting a change in the eastern creeds, seem to have undertaken a task which even the Hercules of methodism will not be able to accomplish.

‘From the opinion of the wisest men, the means adopted for the conversion of the Hindoos, have not only been ill-digested, but rather calculated to produce effects diametrically opposite to the designs of the projectors. The late mutiny at Vellore and the concurrent movements observable among the troops on the Madrass establishment serve to strengthen this suspicion, and ought to make every reflecting man pause before the evil is pressed beyond the power of remedy.’

‘The faith of a Gentoo (misguided as it is and groundless as it may be) is equally implicit with that of a christian, and his allegiance to his own supposed revelations of the divine will altogether as firm. He therefore esteems the astonishing miracles attributed to a Brama, or Ruum, or a Kreshen (Creeshna) as facts of the most indubitable authenticity and the relation of them as strictly historical.’

In the 8th, 9th, and 10th chapters of Part II, the author describes the introduction, rise and progress of christianity in the east, during the first century; from the second cen-

tury to the birth of Mahomed; and the progress of Mahomedanism from its commencement to the victories of Zengis Khan and his successors. In ch. 15, Mr. Chatfield expatiates on the effects which were produced on christianity by the conquests of Tamerlane. - Timur Beg or Tamerlane, having become a convert to the Mahomedan faith, commenced a furious persecution against the christians, whom the chance of war had subjected to his power :

‘ Many of the christian converts, either terrified by his threats, or allured by his invitations yielded to the law of the conqueror. Thus wherever the Mogul arms prevailed christianity lost ground.’

The capture of Constantinople by Mahomet II. in the middle of the following century, seemed to threaten the triumph of *Islamism* in the west as well as in the east. But the genius of the religion itself, which unlike christianity is by no means suited to the progressive nature of man, and the perpetual increase of civilization, seems to have furnished the strongest obstacles to its own propagation, and to have necessitated its retrograde course in proportion as that darkness of superstition vanished which the corruptions of the Romish church had spread over christendom. The reformation of religion which began about the same time, served to develop a portion of the original loveliness of Christianity which had been long obscured; and compared with which the code of Mahomet appeared a spectre of deformity. A new region was at the same time opened for the introduction of christianity in the discovery of another hemisphere.

‘ That the religion conveyed by these nations (the Portuguese and Spaniards) was inadequate to the purpose of rooting out the ancient superstitions, may be collected from the temper of the times, the modes of conversion pursued, and the genius of the people; and there is too much reason to fear that the name of christian, was the only change effected amongst their converts.’

But the christian religion is of such a nature that however corrupt it may become, it will ultimately, like a turbid stream that is filtered through a rock, effect its own purification. Its MORAL ESSENCE is such that it cannot be entirely destroyed. It is liable to temporary change but incapable of final decay. It may be darkened but it cannot be extinguished. It is the MORAL APOTHEOSIS of the christian system which is congenial to the nature of man and the frame of the world, that constitutes its security against that abyss of annihilation into which it would have long since been precipitated by the artifice and corruptions of ecclesiastical and of civil policy. The forms into which chris-

tianity has been moulded, the *creeds* into which it has been subtilized, may and probably will finally vanish to be seen no more, but the MORAL ESSENCE of the doctrine itself will survive the extirpation of every sect and the fall of every church. The true believers may still worship the father *in spirit* and *in truth*. Christianity needs no shelter but the canopy of the heavens. Christianity needs no hierophant to perplex it with mysteries in order to obtain a price for the explanation. But can the same praise be bestowed on the genius of Mahomedanism? Mahomedanism, which has no *moral essence* diffused through it like an *anima mundi* to preserve it from decay, can have no stable existence except in its vain ceremonials and fugitive forms. It cannot be preserved apart from its stated devotional offerings, from its genuflexions, its pilgrimages, its ablutions and its fasts, its polygamy on earth and its sensuality in heaven. Strip it of these and it becomes a poor shrivelled thing, destitute of the glow and elasticity of life.

The very corner-stone of Islām seems at present threatened with subversion by the new and increasing sect of the Wahabees. This sect owed its origin to Abdul Weheb, who in 1760,

* Having travelled on commercial affairs into India and Persia, adopted, from the appearances of the diversity of the several religions there prevalent, the idea of an universal toleration; returning to his own country, he erected an independent state in Najd, and asserted among the followers, who, allured by the hopes of plunder, soon flocked around his standard, 'that God alone should be adored, and that the prophet's book was not inspired.' In 1803 Abdul took Mecca, plundered the Mosques, and destroyed the inhabitants, after having defeated the Ottoman armies, he was marching against Medina, when his victorious progress was arrested by the plague and small-pox breaking out in his army. The Divan was alarmed, lest the authority of the Sultaun might be questioned, as he can only retain the name of Caliph, a name so revered by Mahomedans, whilst he is master of Mecca and Medina. The doctrines of Abdul spread quickly through Arabia; and even Syria and Anatolia were infected by them. The Turkish government was at length roused by the danger, and levied fresh armies, but, trusting rather to treachery than force, a treaty was concluded, and Abdul was assassinated by a fanatical Mussulman. The son of Abdul revenged his father's death, and Mecca and Medina soon felt the weight of his arms. The Ottoman power is shaken in Europe, and it is probable, that the propagation of the new opinions will accelerate its dissolution in Asia.

* See a fuller account of the Wahabees in Scott Waring's *Sheers*, chap. xxxi. They seem to consider the destruction of all the holy places of sepulchre as an act of piety. Thus is the foundation

stone of Mahomedanism destroyed, which had long been supported by the pilgrimages to Mecca.'

The first Mahomedan conquerors of Hindostan, who endeavoured to establish the Koran on the ruin of the temples of Brahma, at length perceived the folly of persecuting opinions, and the wisdom of a general toleration. It is said that in 1605, in consequence of the invitation of Akber,

'Some Jesuits were sent who built a church at Agra, which was endowed with a pension from the royal treasury. Jehanguir the son of Akber, allowed them also to build another at Lahore, some of whose furniture remained at the time of Thevenot's visit. It is related of this prince, that, disgusted with the importunities of the rival sects, he resolved upon a curious expedient to prove the excellency of their respective creeds. Inviting into his presence a Mullah, a Brahmin, and a Portuguese priest, he desired each of them to vindicate the authenticity of his own doctrine. Upon all asserting that their creeds were founded upon miracles, the prince declared that he was still unconvinced; and therefore, to establish the truth, he recommended that each should be surrounded with a fire, his sacred book being placed under his arms, and that his creed should prevail, who remained unhurt by the flames. The Mullah trembled, the priest seemed inclined to accept the offer; but Jehanguir, not choosing to put him to the proof, continued in his former opinion.'

The larger part of the 12th chapter, gives a copious detail of the different attempts which have been made by the European nations to propagate Christianity in the east. The most successful of these proselyting schemes appears for a time, to have been that of the Romish priests in Japan. In that island the Christian religion, previously to the year 1529 had

'made such rapid advances, as to threaten the total destruction of the Pagan superstitions, when its progress was arrested by one of those revolutions, which baffle the councils of human wisdom. The priests and nobles rose against the Christians; the missionaries were expelled; and an edict was at length issued A. D. 1615, by the emperor Jeijco, to extirpate those who had embraced the Christian faith. During the space of 40 years the scaffolds were stained with the blood of Christian martyrs; and multitudes perished under the most aggravated tortures, glorying, even in their agonies, in the cause which they had espoused.'

The Catholic missionaries have still a respectable establishment in India; for we are told that sacred property has been respected amid all the revolutions of the state; and that they have churches in which divine service is still regularly performed. Among the Protestant missionaries, the Danish appear to have merited considerable praise from

their diligence, good sense, and moderation. By the indefatigable labours of Mr. Schwartz the whole scriptures were before the year 1719, translated into the Tamul or Malabar language, in which the same gentleman had also composed a grammar and a dictionary.—But Mr. Schwartz made only a few native converts after the religious industry of thirty years.—So difficult and hopeless is the task!—The torrid votaries of methodism may make some nominal converts among the worshippers of Brahma; but more success cannot be expected from their zeal, than from that of their predecessors.—The simple creed of the Koran, ‘There is only one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God,’ though enforced by every secular temptation, which the Mahomedan conquerors could employ, as well as by all the terrors of the sword, was insufficient to induce the Hindoos to quit their Pagodas or to abandon their priests.

‘During the continuance of the religious war, labour left the field, and industry the loom; the decrease of the revenues at length brought the tyrant (Aurangzebe) to his reason, and a *capitation tax* was substituted as the balance of the accounts between the two religions; yet even this tax laid upon the lower orders of the Hindoos, with circumstances of peculiar severity, could prevail upon few to barter their faith for the exemption, and thousands perished under the exemption.’

Since the time that the East India Company have become the sovereigns of Hindoostan, they have cautiously avoided all interference with the religious opinions of the natives; and in 1781 it was resolved by the legislature that

‘any attempt to interfere with the religion, the laws, or local customs of India, must inevitably tend to the destruction of the British power; and that the people of India were entitled upon every principle of justice, as well as policy, to the full enjoyment of their own religion, laws and customs.’

In 1793 a proposition which was made by Mr. Wilberforce for establishing free schools, and for dispatching missionaries to civilize and convert the natives, was negatived after a full discussion in the House of Commons; and a similar proposal, which was supported by the bishop of London, experienced a similar fate in the House of Lords.

The following account of the *moral habits* of the natives of India induces us to doubt whether the Hindus could even in this respect be much benefited by being metamorphosed into *methodists*. We rather think that the methodists would be benefited by being converted into Hindus as

far as they are 'courteous, kind, cheerful, lovers of justice, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings.'

'Much,' says Mr. Chatfield, 'has been said and written upon the moral habits of the people of India. The people have been alternately vilified and exalted, and their religion has been equally praised and defamed. The representation, however, given of them by Mr. Maurice, places their character in a favourable point of view; and the opinion is not disputed by those, whose information on eastern topics, is the most to be relied upon.

'They are no less ardent in the love of their country, than zealous in their attachment to the institutions of their forefathers. In domestic life, they are tender and affectionate, and in their morals for the most part unsullied.' Abulfazil, whose situation and pursuits gave him the best opportunity of appreciating their moral character, speaks of them. 'As being courteous, kind, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, lovers of justice, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity: they have great respect for their tutors; they make no account of their lives, when they can devote them to the service of God.'

'The religion also of the Hindus, though mixed with many absurd and superstitious ceremonies, is not destitute of beauty, and in many parts seems to inculcate the sublimest notions of the perfections of the Deity, and of the obligations of men to be holy and virtuous. The Veda declares the knowledge of one God to be the sublimest of all sciences, because it insures immortality; that the supreme intelligence, is sovereign Lord of all creatures; that he is a spirit by no means the object of sense. 'The sinful,' says Menu, 'have said in their hearts, 'None see us,' Yes, the Gods distinctly see them;' and so does the spirit within their breasts.' It inculcates a firm belief in a future state of reward and punishment: 'it threatens a man contaminated by sensuality, that neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities, can ever procure felicity.' A wise man should constantly 'discharge all the moral duties, though he perform not constantly the ceremonies of religion; since he falls low, if, while he performs ceremonial acts only, he discharges not his moral duties.'

If we have wisdom enough to abstain from all pragmatical interference in the religious concerns of the east, we believe that the political dominion of Britain in that part of the world may be durable. The natives, who are not at present susceptible of a free government, are likely to enjoy more security from oppression under the British sway than under the sceptre either of the Mahomedan, or the Hindu. And we think that in the majority of cases it is rather a blessing than a curse for one nation to be governed by another which is more

civilized and enlightened, more advanced in intellectual and social culture than themselves. While the present connection subsists between this country and Hindostan, the Hindus are likely to imbibe a portion of that free spirit, and that enlarged philanthropy which are certainly not often absent from British breasts, and the more fit must they become for a higher degree of civil liberty than they at present enjoy. But if we excite the religious animosity of the people, our reign must be transient and insecure. Among an ignorant and credulous people, there is nothing so dangerous as to kindle their religious resentment. It is like laying a train of gunpowder over the whole peninsula, which will ultimately explode with a violence that must shake the stability of the British power.

Mr. Chatfield says that our real and dangerous enemy in the east is France. France has certainly conceived a design of subverting the British sovereignty, which, whenever her contentions in Europe will permit, she will no doubt attempt to realize.

* But waving, as Mr. Chatfield says, 'even the probability of European opposition, is there nothing to be apprehended from internal dissensions? Is our power so secured that it cannot be shaken? Is the empire we have established in the east of a nature not to be subverted? There is here no occasion to launch out into the wide regions of probability, for the danger is too imminent to be met on the uncertainties of conjecture. We know that the natives are tranquil, that they are not impatient of control, that they are even passive so long as their prejudices of mere opinion are not violated. Mere oppression and mal-administration they will endure. The sovereign princes may be impatient of our control, but that touches rather upon a question of external than *internal* policy. It would not then have been among the people governed, that we should have had to dread the consequence of rebellion, for our empire would have been lasting as long as we had continued firm and faithful to our original engagements; but if we have idly tampered with their principles, if we have brought our integrity into question, the bubble must burst, and the Hindus and Mussulmen will cease to venerate the charm which has hitherto bound them to submission. It would be absurd to insist on the physical strength of Great Britain over a population of fifty millions of subjects; and a far greater number bordering on her territories. The same alarm excited in one instance would operate upon all; the standard of religious terror once raised would unite all ranks; the Sheik would combine with the Afghan, the Mahratta with the Mahomedan; distinctions would be lost in the idea of a common principle, and the tempest would be irresistible. It is true, Scindia and Holkar have been defeated, but they have not been subdued. By an increase of domi-

nion, we have extended our borders, but have we either blunted or disarmed the point of resistance? If the dread of religious persecution should have passed from the coast and the Ganges to the borders of the Hydaspes and the Sewalic mountains, can we doubt what would be the result of the combined impression? The voice of a people may be guided, but it cannot be controuled; and no analogy can here lie between the state of Europe under the dynasty of France, and Hindostan under the controul of England. Were our native troops to desert us, where would be the power, from our comparative strength, to oppose the efforts of a country raised into rebellion under the pretext (however just or not) of rescuing from violation the religion of their fathers?'

The attention which we have bestowed on this volume, will serve to shew that we esteem it to be well executed, to exhibit ample proofs of industry and research, and to be altogether a work of great utility and importance.

ART. III.—*Metrical Legends and other Poems, by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.* Longman, &c. 1807.

SINCE the publication of Percy's Reliques, the imitation of the old romantic and historical ballad has been often studied by poets and favourably received by the public. The description of obsolete customs and local feelings presents to many minds greater charms than that of immutable and universal principles, and there are readers of poetry in this country whose studies are confined to such works, and who know Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton only by name. It would be a waste of words to prove that the great moral ends of poetry are never attained by such compositions. We have little in common with the human beings there described; we are their superiors in every thing that constitutes moral or intellectual worth. They are objects of curiosity but not of emulation, and poetry deals less in what is strange than in what is instructive. Besides, by imitating the writings of our rude and simple ancestors we perform a work of supererogation. We do over again imperfectly what has already been done well. Our records of their manners, feelings, and customs, are not authentic. They are at the best but skilful forgeries, and their currency must soon be stopped. It is indeed melancholy to reflect that future ages will know nothing of many ingenious poets of the present time, than that they were admirers of ignorance and barbarity, and threw away splendid talents on the decoration of absurd and uninteresting fictions.

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A slight acquaintance with the kind of poetry of which we now speak, must to every reflecting mind prove how small must be its merit. It consists entirely in imitation. The objects which he describes, the poet never saw in the glow and vividness of real existence. He has seen them dimly and faintly shadowed forth in the imperfect expressions of ignorant men, annalists, historians, and antiquarians. These expressions he must often misunderstand. Sometimes he will exaggerate, and sometimes under-rate their force. He has to create in his mind a feeling and sympathy for things naturally indifferent to him; and this sympathy is to become the source of all his ideas, sentiments, and emotions. He shuts his eyes to human nature while it lies before him in fresh and vivid colours, and looks back upon the darkness of former times. The consequence must be, that however great his knowledge, however dextrous his skill, no modern can write a poem in imitation of the ancient ballads at all comparable with the most excellent of these interesting compositions. It may contain beauties of a far superior kind, but then it ceases to be an imitation, and such passages are in fact gross faults in the poem. What is excellent cannot be imitated—what is bad ought not. Since poetry therefore is the overflowing of habitual feeling, it cannot consist in the imitation or mimicry of feelings which belong to another person, and which it requires great effort on the part of the poet in any light to consider his own. Whatever, therefore, be the merit of our old traditionary poetry, it is plain that the imitation of it must be very imperfect. It is also evident that mere imitation is beneath a poet of first-rate genius.

But let us carry the enquiry a little farther and see what it is that we imitate. Our old traditionary poetry is chiefly valuable from containing touches of national character and pictures of national manners. The feelings prevalent during the periods that such poetry was written were few and simple. Love, hatred, fear, joy, grief, were then not nearly so complex in their nature as they now are, and were awakened rather by events than reflections. Accordingly the old song affords few examples of the delineation of feelings in their growth or gradual workings. We meet with many fine bursts of passion upon sudden and interesting situations, but are never led on through a gradually opening train of feelings from their first growth to their final explosion. In truth the dissection of the heart was then altogether unknown. Men never considered how their feelings arose, they only knew that they did feel. Now, it is evident, that poetry of so very confined a nature as this, though highly interesting as a picture of past times, possesses little merit as a production of the human intel-

lect. If so, the imitation of such poetry must stand still lower, for it is impossible that a man of cultivated mind, with all those emotions within him attendant on civilization can describe the rude nakedness of the soul with the same truth and spirit as he who unconsciously drew himself in the character of his heroes.

When we consider traditionary poetry as containing pictures of the manners of our ancestors, its advantages over modern imitation are still more apparent. The pictures of manners which it contains were drawn unconsciously and heedlessly by persons who could not avoid speaking of things among which they daily lived and moved. They always hold an inferior place in the poem. They are the appendages to passion and incident, not the ground-work on which these are raised. In a modern imitation, the poet necessarily attaches a false importance to this subordinate part of the subject, and strives to describe customs, manners, dress, appearance, rather than character. Besides being unphilosophical and absurd, these descriptions must be often inaccurate, clumsy, and over-charged, in proof of which we have only to refer to *Marmion*, though Walter Scott certainly is the most learned poet of the day in border costume.

If there be any truth in the foregoing observations, it follows that to imitate the ancient ballad to the life is impossible, and were it possible, useless; but that to imitate it tolerably requires little ability. There is, we have remarked, a great sameness in our old traditionary poetry both in sentiment and incident. The story is told almost one way, and any person familiar with Percy's *Reliques* and Scott's *Minstrelsy*, could throw off in a couple of hours a very passable imitation of any tale therein contained. When the writer is at a loss for a feeling or an image, he can supply the deficiency with an ingeniously applied allusion to some popular superstition, or with a picturesque description of visible forms. He has only to speak to the eye, for we are so glad to forget what we ourselves are like, that we gaze with delight on every portrait of an ancestor. A general vague effect is produced on our imagination, and imposed upon by the influence of half understood words, we give the writer credit for a great deal more merit than he possesses.

We shall conclude these hasty remarks with observing, in confirmation of their truth, that those writers who have justly acquired most celebrity in this kind of poetry have totally failed in every other. Dr. Percy whose verses written in his own character are altogether worthless, introduced several very beautiful and pathetic lines into the old ballad of *Sir Cauline*. These lines simply stated a simple feeling, and

being associated in the mind by the influence of their antiquated language, with the sentiments and character of past ages, they necessarily became interesting.

Mr. Sharpe deserves to stand high among that class of writers whom we have now shortly described. He possesses little imagination, but considerable fancy. He has not much power over the feelings, nor does he ever stamp upon his picture that magical beauty which emanates from a truly poetical mind, and gives to non-entities the warmth and colouring of life. But he accumulates imagery with ease and luxuriance; and draws groupes, if not interesting through character at least picturesque in situation. He has an eye rather than a heart for description; and thus, though his descriptions please from their fulness and spirit, the mind scarcely ever feels satisfied. He is in fact rather a painter than a poet.

The most striking poem in the collection is the 'Fiend with the Mantle Gray.' In ingenuity and liveliness of transition, in picturesque and romantic painting, we think it indisputably the best composition of the kind we ever read. The Lady Hammis, an old witch, has a daughter who, she is desirous should marry Earl William, a neighbouring baron. He is drawn by their spells to pass a night in their abode, when

'The banquet o'er—the music fled
The false dame sudden illness pled
And from the hall withdrew—
The earl and virgin left alone—
Ah! bitterly what then was done
They both had cause to rue!'

The baron, however, being previously attached to a more virtuous damsel, forgets this unholy syren, and never returns to her castle. In revenge of this insult, the young witch delivers up to 'the Fiend with Mantle Gray,' her unbaptized son, to accomplish the destruction of her rival. This personage, who is described with great spirit, is in fact his Satanic majesty, who raises a tempest in which Earl William's intended bride perishes at sea. The poem concludes with a picture of two hungry mastiffs tearing her body that has been washed ashore; and these dogs of hell are the witching ladies. From these materials Mr. Sharpe has produced a ballad superior to any of Lewis', Hogg's, or Scott's. We shall transcribe the picture of the young witch.

'This little maid, as soon as born,
Had all her silky tresses shorn
And buried 'neath a tree,

The aspen light—from whence refined
Her trembling notes could lull the mind
To fainting extacy:

' The witch with spells forbad the sun
To fix his dusky kisses on
Her spotless brow or chin :
Forbad with potent charms the air
When sporting with her raven hair
To parch her snowy skin.

' But still, though lovelier than the light
Sometimes a dark unusual flight
Would long her beauties hide;
When anger shook the beauteous maid
Her cheek and lip were much decay'd,
For all her roses died.

' Her brow serene would knit and scowl ;
Her voice in harshness ape the owl
That haunts the midnight air ;
Till passion's tempest overblown
Again th' Eolian harp's soft tone
Would sigh—" the weather's fair."

' Oft, at the hour of darkness dread
When stars a feeble radiance shed
The dame forsook her towers,
And taught the virgin's hands to cull
Rank herbs of magic virtue full
With fair but fatal flowers !

' Early, her coral lips would move
To call the cloud-sprites from above
The demons from below,
Too soon, her voice alone would swell
The wild note of the witch's spell
With descant strange and slow.

' Oft lurking nigh the sluggish stream
She watch'd to hear the kelpie scream
And wiled him from the wave.
Oft danced she with the fairy queen
In some thick grove or meadow green
Or cool sequester'd cave.

' Swift-footed as the swallow's flight
She'd chace the fiend that glimmers bright
To work the traveller woe,
And catch him—While amid the race
Her large eyes sparkling in the race
Like shooting stars would glow !'

'Sir Hugh,' and the 'Murder of Dumblain,' also possess great merit. The former indeed is written with exquisite simplicity and even pathos, and almost makes amends for much of the wretched trash to be found in other parts of the volume, if indeed any thing can make amends for such drivelling as this.

' Exalted still the Drummond name
Fair Scotland's shores around ;
What soul but feels the native flame
Blaze at the very sound ?

* * * * *

O long may yon blue mountains yield
Of chivalry the flower ;
True knights courageous in the field
And gentle in the bower.
And dames as fair as she who lies
Beneath this marble stone,
Borne by their virtues thro' the sky
To heaven's immortal throne !!!

'Lorenzo and Isabella' from Boccaccio is a long and uninteresting story very clumsily translated ; as, for example,

'How oft the sighing Virgin's doom'd to see
A deal of beauty in a low degree !
And beauty once discern'd by loving eyes
What hoards of hidden merit next surprize !!!'

For some inscrutable reason Mr. Sharpe has favoured us with the translation of a French poem on the murder of Henri Duke of Guise, which, in his own opinion, has little merit. Perhaps he wished to shew the public that he understood French, of which this translation, however, is a very dubious proof.

Agreeably to the fashion of the day, Mr. Sharpe has added notes to many of his poems. They are destitute of information, wit, and common sense, though they lay arrogant claims to them all. The few anecdotes they contain are borrowed from Scott. The attempts at wit are his own. How could the following expressions escape the lips of a gentleman ? 'Holyrood was the palace of the Scottish kings in Edinburgh ; there is very little of the ancient building left, much being consumed by fire, and the beautiful chapel ruined under the weight of a new roof clapt upon it by *obstinate beasts, who measured the strength of its weak walls by the durable rigour of their own skulls ! !*' Mr. Sharpe may rest assured that though he certainly has some originality of thinking, he has no liveliness or playfulness of soul. But an obligation seems now to lie upon all ballad writers to be facetious. That

Celt-aborring Goth, John Pinkerton, became sportive in his ancient forgeries ; Mister Ritson restricted himself to that bold and manly kind of humour which consists in giving the lie direct to all who disagreed with him ; Monk Lewis has relieved his insanities and indecencies with occasional jokes from old Joe ; Ellis and Scott alone have discovered the wit and humour of scholars and gentlemen. Mr. Sharpe shews only the petulance and arrogance of a Scotch school-boy. In excessive nationality he gets the better of all former Caledonian writers, and seems to think the whole nobility of the earth concentrated in a few high-cheeked Scotchmen.

ART. IV.—*The History of Cleveland, in the North Riding of the County of York ; comprehending an historical and descriptive View of the ancient and present State of each Parish within the Wapentake of Langburgh ; the Soil, Produce, and Natural Curiosities ; with the Origin and Genealogy of the principal Families within the District. By the Rev. John Graves. 4to. pp. 500. Vernor and Hood. 1808.*

IT is not easy to point out a more dull, or to the general reader a more unprofitable species of literary amusement than that which is provided for them in the regular routine of a county or provincial history. The practice generally followed, and from which the examples of deviation are very rare, is first to lull him into a state of torpid somnolency by a short and spiritless abridgment of Hume or Smollett as far as the particular portion of soil under review is referred to in the general history of the country ; and then, while under the influence of this powerful narcotic, to drag him leisurely round every parish in the district, telling him that such and such particular lands belonged to such and such particular families from the time of the conquest downwards, together with the manner in which they passed from each to each by marriage, forfeiture or surrender, by feoffment, lease and release, or fine and recovery. Genealogical tables are profusely scattered through the work to rouse attention by the semblance of a picture ; and a very few real sketches, sometimes of scenery, but more frequently of old monuments or the arches of church-doors and windows complete the contents, and form by far the most interesting part of the volume.

Such is a county-history, such at least are nineteen out of twenty of the voluminous collections arranged under that head in every public library ; what a county-history may be, and what

some few *are*, is a very different question. The first, and most interesting subject which ought not only to enter into the composition of such a work, but to form its principal ingredient, is the biography of its inhabitants or natives; numbers of whom, in every county of England, whose lives have not been so rendered illustrious by public works or public actions, as to deserve a place in *general* biography, afford individual traits of character, or instances of uncommon changes of fortune, precious to the enquirer into human nature, and doubly precious to those with whom their names are connected by descent or affinity.

Of less universal interest, perhaps, but capable of affording the highest gratification to readers of a distinct taste and habit, are the original and picturesque descriptions of natural scenery, the execution of which requires, indeed, a genius and an ability of no ordinary cast, and which had better be shunned entirely by those writers who do not feel within themselves powers equal to the endeavour; since it is certain that many men are capable of writing exceedingly well on subjects of history and antiquities who have not the least relish for the charms of nature displayed in the majestic assemblage of water, hill, and woodland; and there are many more who, though not deprived of that exquisite source of pure gratification, the sense of what is grand and lovely in exterior objects, are yet ungifted with the refined power of analyzing or describing what they see and feel. It is therefore not reasonable to *expect*, from a work which certainly holds out no promise of the sort, what if it should *unexpectedly* occur, must stamp the highest additional value on the performance.

Of *local history* also a great deal more may be made than it is often our lot to find attempted; especially if a work of this description be made the depositary of events, too unimportant, as connected with our national annals, to find a place among them, and yet reflecting such light on the manners and customs of our ancestors, or on the laws and privileges of manors or baronies, of guilds, corporations, or fraternities, as are not only curious and amusing, but may be very instructive and useful to the present and future ages.

Provided these and such other objects of general interest be kept in view by the county-historian, and made the ground-work and ultimate scope of his labours, no civil well-bred reader would deny that the antiquary may also be indulged in his taste for worm-eaten deeds and broken monuments, or for Roman, Saxon, and Gothic gate-ways; nor would any reasonable man object to a few, or a few hundred,

pages devoted to the gratification of the botanist, the mineralogist, or the lover of heraldry.

The difficulty of an undertaking so extensive in its objects, and the improbability of finding any one man qualified either with the patience or the variety of taste and pursuit necessary to its accomplishment, will undoubtedly be objected to this Utopian sketch, and we shall be reminded of our own frequent declamations on the vast increase of the *Megabiblical* evil. In answer to the latter charge; we can only observe that the number of 'county histories,' would be incalculably diminished were taste, and genius, or the labours of original discovery and research, deemed material to their execution; nor can any man who looks upon the many ponderous folios devoted to the illustration of one hundred square miles upon the usual plan, hesitate to believe that all the information really useful or interesting which that portion of territory can possibly afford to the reader, enlarged to the utmost extent of our suggestions, would find much ado to dilate itself to any thing like the same dimensions. The other objection we are willing in part to admit; and in order to obviate it would propose a scheme (which is extremely hazardous in most literary works, but wholly unobjectionable in one of so miscellaneous and complicated a nature,) that no man, however learned, diligent, or in his own opinion well-qualified, should undertake the task without the adoption of regular associates, to whom, according to their several inclinations and pursuits, the several distinct branches of the business may be assigned, subject to the absolute revisal and arrangement of one presiding director. And this appears to us so natural, as well as convenient, a plan, that it is only matter of surprise, that in so few, if any instances, it has ever been proceeded upon. Under the management of such a society of active, and intelligent men, we have no hesitation in avowing our opinion that a 'county-history,' may be so conducted as to become a valuable repository of miscellaneous information of the most interesting kind, not only to those persons who are immediately connected with the particular region described or with the families settled in it, but to all who feel any concern in the past or present state of their native country.

The district on which Mr. Graves has thought proper to bestow his attention for the purpose of compiling a volume, which we are sorry to pronounce deficient in all points where (according to our opinion,) the mind of the county-historian should be principally engaged, comprises a small part only of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and perhaps in every respect the least interesting division of that extensive province. It

contains no towns that are either very considerable for present trade or manufactures, or remarkable for the monuments of departed greatness. Its remains of antiquity are very rare. The general face of the country, though pleasant and in some parts picturesque, affords none of those striking and romantic features which are presented by almost all the adjoining districts. It has been signalized by very few, if any, events of public interest or importance—and its distinguished characters (if we may be allowed to judge from the book before us, which, after setting forth a fine promise of biographical matter, affords us no hints concerning the lives or actions of more than two or three well-known individuals) must have been very thinly scattered by the hand of Providence.

‘From Whitby,’ (says Camden, describing this part of Yorkshire,) ‘the shore gives back westward; by which lyeth *Cleveland*, taking that name, as it seemeth, of steepe bankes; which in our language wee calle *Cliffes*; for there runne all along the side thereof *cliffe* hilles; at the foote of which the country spreadeth into a plaine full of fertile fields.’ From this derivation Mr. Graves differs, upon the authority of Baxter. Far be it from us to think of deciding between two such eminent antiquaries; though from the Latinized British appellation of the district, *Caluvium*, (*Calai-iii*, says Baxter, *de lutosu unda*), as well as from the popular adage, which he quotes,

————— ‘*Cleveland* in the clay
Brings in two soles, and carries one away.’

we are inclined to suppose that Camden’s etymology, in this instance, was more fanciful than profound, and that, to use Mr. Graves’s expression, ‘the primary and leading idea of the name is not *Cliff*, but *Clay*, as descriptive of its soil.’ The necessary preliminaries thus settled, Mr. Graves next proceeds with his several respectable authorities to back him, in manner following.

‘Drayton, in his poetical progress through Yorkshire, after noticing

‘Pickering, whom the fawnes beyond them all adore,
By whom not far away lies large spread *Blackamore*,’*
proceeds thus in his description of our district.

* * In an ancient MS. in the Cotton Library (marked Julius F. C. fol. 455,) descriptive of the Lordship of Guisborough, and the adjacent coast, we find *Blackamore* thus noticed. ‘Alonge *Cleveland* lyeth *Blackamore*, antiently supposed to be called *Barton-Hyll*, which by the ploughed land and rynes of houses in many

' Then *Cleveland* north from these, a state that doth maintain,
Leaning her lusty side to the great *Germain* main,
Which if she were not here confined thus in me,
A shire even of herself might well be said to be.'

' To the above extracts we shall subjoin Speed's description of the North Riding in general, &c. &c. &c.'

Which, however, as we are reviewing Mr. Graves and not Speed, we shall pass over and return to Mr. Graves's own words.

' The *climate*, though colder than the more southern parts of the county, from its vicinity to the sea, is nevertheless healthy and invigorating. The soil is various ; in the vale of *Cleveland*, a fertile clay generally prevails, with some rich and gravelly loam, particularly near the banks of rivers, which produce abundant crops of corn and grass.' In the eastern part of the district, which is more mountainous, and towards the coast, the soil is barren, being chiefly a stiff red clay, upon an *allum-shale*; which, as we approach the moors, inclines to black, and at last terminates in a rotten peat-moss-earth. The vale, bordering the river *Esk*, is of a light sandy soil; which, however, does not extend far, before it degenerates into a cold and barren clay.

' The *surface*, on the eastern part of *Cleveland*, and near the coast, is bold and hilly ; but inclosing some rich and fertile vales, well watered, and ornamented with pieces of woodland.

' Between *Guisborough* and *Whitby*, as the traveller pursues his road,

————— ' A dreary waste
Of lands uncultivated,'

presents itself, covered with heath and fern, and ' abounding in rugged hills and deep morasses, which seem never to have been made subservient to the uses of society.'

' On the west, a range of hills, of considerable elevation, stretches along the southern confines of the district, in an undulating manner, in front of which, the country spreads out, for many miles, into an extensive plain, interspersed with some gently rising grounds and pleasant vales.

' The fields are invariably divided by quick-set hedges, which, with the trees planted in hedge-rows, and pieces of woodland scattered on the banks of the rivers, and the thriving plantations around the gentlemen's houses, conspire to give the country a rich, pleasing, and cheerful aspect.

places seeme to have been well inhabited, but now in six or seven miles together, you shall scarcely fynde a house except in a dale, the rest is heathe, and a rouste for heathe-cocks.' In the further progress of this work, we shall occasionally recur to this curious MS. for the description of such parts of our district, as shall be found to be therein noticed.'

'The coast, from the mouth of the river Tees, lies open, as far as Huntcliffe, when the cliffs eastward rise to a considerable height, steep, and rocky; the feet of which are washed by the sea. Of this part of the coast, the Cotton MS. affords us the following quaint description.

'Alonge the shore the sandes lye fayre and level, till you arrive at a high hill, called *Huntly Nabb*; there the coaste begins to rise high, full of scrags and steepe rocks, wherein meawes, pigeons, and sea-fowle breede plentifully. Here the sea casting up pebble stones maketh the coaste troublesome to passe.'

We are at a loss to discover the quaintness with which Mr. Graves seems to have amused himself in the foregoing sentence, which, on the contrary, is to our judgment as plain and inartificial a statement of what it is meant to describe, as Mr. Graves himself could have made.

Mr. Graves then proceeds to give some account of the present state of the inhabitants of this wholesome district, which being almost exclusively agricultural, has not much to boast in point of population.—The return made to parliament in 1801 estimated it at only 26,358 souls, a number hardly equal to the population of *one* second or third rate manufacturing place, in an extent of forty miles in breadth from east to west, and eighteen from north to south, containing three market-towns, and upwards of 30 parishes.* What it wants in numbers, is however, (if we are to give full credit to the following statement) made up in the virtues of its inhabitants.

'In those parts of the North Riding which are best cultivated,' (under which character *Cleveland* must certainly be included) 'the farmers form a very respectable class of society, and deservedly rank high among their fellows in any part of England; they are generally sober, industrious and orderly; most of the younger part of them have enjoyed a proper education, and give a suitable one to their children, who of both sexes, are brought up in habits of industry and economy. Such conduct rarely fails meeting its reward; they who merit, and seek it, obtain independence, and every generation, or part of every generation, may be seen stepping forward to a sale in society somewhat beyond the last. Fortunately, this country is purely agricultural, and the inhabitants, solely cultivators of the earth, are endowed with the virtues of their profession, uncontaminated by the neighbourhood, or vices of manufactures.

'To this character of the farmers, we may add, that the lower and labouring classes of inhabitants are generally sober and orderly in their conduct, decent in their demeanour and appearance, and de-

* Tuke's Agricultural Survey, pp. 48, 49.

serving of every indulgence from their superiors, that may render their situation comfortable and easy.'

The Wapentake of Langburgh is, in the beginning of the work, defined to 'comprehend all that is *properly* termed Cleveland;' and to that it is said the observations in the work 'will be *principally* confined.' Mr. Graves then proceeds to mark out with great precision the limits of a certain district, but whether of the wapentake, or of Cleveland, he does not give us to comprehend; and, afterwards, in a distinct portion of the work, he gives us the term 'Langburgh Wapentake,' as something totally separate and distinct from Cleveland, and, after mentioning the different proprietors to whom the wapentake successively fell, talks of '*other estates in Cleveland*,' besides the wapentake, an expression which, from what fell before, we do not at all understand. Mr G. should at least have adhered to his own general divisions, and, if there are really two divisions of Cleveland, one *properly* so called, the other *improperly*, he should have defined the limits of each and informed us whether he is about to give us the history of one or both. As it now stands, we are informed, first, that Langburgh wapentake and Cleveland are one and the same thing, and afterwards that there are other parts of Cleveland independent of the wapentake. We are presented with a genealogical table of all the proprietors of Langburgh wapentake, from Peter de Brus lord of Skelton to whom it was first granted by letters patent of king John, down to Conyers, lord Darcy, who in the 17th century conveyed it to the family of Marwood; and, on comparing this table with other parts of the work, it seems evident that many parishes and manors, mentioned in it and included under the general description of *Cleveland*, did not pass with the possession of the wapentake. We therefore remain perfectly ignorant as to what is really and strictly included under either appellation.

What can have induced Mr. Graves to make a distinct head of 'Biography,' occupying just three pages, and including a notice of one single character, that of Dr. Bryan Walton, (concerning whom it barely informs us that he was a sizar at Magdalen College, a master of arts at Peter-house, curate of Allhallows, rector of St. Martin Ogar's, and finally bishop of Chester,) it is not very easy to imagine. Mr. G. talks, indeed, in raptures, of the 'satisfaction' with which the *county-historian* 'betakes himself' to 'that part of his allotted labour which calls upon him to record men of distinguished and eminent characters;' yet, except in this *skeleton*

instance of Bishop Walton, and two other skeleton notes about Captain Cook, the navigator, and Commodore Wilson, one of the principal promoters and benefactors of our trade with the East Indies, he seems to afford the most extraordinary instance of self-denial that we have ever heard or read of since the days of the Ascetic Cœnobites.

It cannot be expected of us to follow Mr. Graves in the regular and systematic survey which he makes of the various parishes composing the district (whatever it may be) which he has undertaken to celebrate; still less that we should insert copies of the various genealogies which seem to form the principal object of the surveyor. It will perhaps be sufficient to say that among the antient proprietors either of the wapentake, or of the smaller baronies and manors, contained within its limits or within those of Cleveland in general, are to be distinguished the names of Bruce, Percy, Meynill, Darcy, Conyers, Nevill, Baliol, Ewre, Latimer, Salvine, Fauconberg; and that among the present families established there, we find the Carys of Rudby (now lady Amherst, daughter of general Cary and niece of Lord Falkland), lord Egremont of Seamer, Foulis of Ingleby, sir Charles Turner of Kirkleatham, the Dawnays (lord Downe) of Danby, Phipps, lord Mulgrave, of Lythe, lord Dundas of Lofthouse, the Pennymans of Ormsby, the Chaloners of Guisborough, and the Whartons of Skelton Castle.

Many antient families of Cleveland forfeited their estates in consequence of embarking in that superstitious enterprize, 'the pilgrimage of grace,' which, it is well known, was a formidable insurrection conducted by Lord Darcy and others on occasion of the suppression of the lesser monasteries. No particular information is collected or sought for respecting the conduct or the leaders of this memorable rebellion, though it is almost the only event in the general history of England that is principally connected with that of Cleveland.

Under 'the parish of Newton,' occurs a description of 'Roseberry Topping,' one of the most singular features of this district: but both to Mr. Graves's short account of it, and also to his correspondent's poetical rhapsody, we very much prefer the detail given by the anonymous author of the Cotton MS. with which we shall therefore make no apology for presenting our readers.

'Towards the west, there stands a high hill, called *Roseberry Toppinge*, which is a mark to the seaman and an almanack to the vale, for they have thys oulde ryme common,

- ' When Roseberrye Toppinge wears a cappe,
' Let Cleveland then beware a clappe :

* Those indeed yt seldome hath a cloude on yt that some yll weather shortly followeth yt not ; where not farre from thence on a mountayne's side there are cloudes almoste contynually smoaking, and therefore called the devyll's kettles, which notwithstanding prognosticate neither goode nor badde ; there are lykewyse many other raryties more excellent than that I have seene ; yt hath sometymes had a hermytage on yt, now a small smith's forge,* cut out of the rocke, called Willifryd's needle, whither blinde devotion led many a syllie soul, not without hazard of a breakneck† tumblinge, while they attempted to put themselves to a needlesse payne creepynge through that needle's eye.

† Out of the toppe of a huge stone near the toppe of the hill, drops a fountaine which cureth sore eyes,‡ receaving that virtue from the mineral ; it is wonderful to see with what violence a stone will tumble from the toppe of the hyll towards a little towne, called Newton, the noise that yt makes is soe terrible, and then boundes aloft in the ayre soe high, that as I am informed when you caste a stone once down that hyll, a horse that was tethered as far off for fear leaped over a great gate ; and one encountering a bigge ould hawthorne tree which only stood on the syde of the hill, yt dashed it all in pieces as a tempest, and ran forward without stay till it ran to an earthen fence of a close, into which yt pierced as yf it had been a great shott, having ran in a moment from the toppe whence it was caste, to the wall or fence aforesaid, at least a long myle. I found in this hille *gate* and other minereals, which I have not yet thought good to discover. There is a most goodlye prospect from the toppe of thys hyll, though paynefully gained by reason of the steepnesse of yt, but especyally from the side of the race on Barnabymoore ; there you may see a vewe the like whereof I never saw, or thinke that any traveller hath seen any comparable unto yt, albeit I have shewed it to divers that have paste through a greate parte of the world, both by sea and lande. The vales, rivers, great and small, swellyng bylles and mountains, pastures, woodes, meadows, corne-fields, part of the Bishopricke of Durham, with the newe porte of Tease, lately found to be safe, and the sea replenyshed with

* By modern visitants called *the cobbler's shop*. On the side of the rock there are many initials of names and dates ; the oldest of which that we could discover, is 1527.

† This superstition must be considered similar to that practised in the church of Ripon, which Camden says, in the days of his ancestors, was very famous, and called also *St. Wilfrid's needle*, this was ' a straight passage into a room close and vaulted underground, whereby trial was made of any woman's chastity, if she was chaste, she passed with ease : but if otherwise, she was, by I know not what miracle, stopped and detained there.

‡ At present a small insignificant spring of clear water, which oozes through the fissures of a rock, and loses itself on the brow of the hill ; its sanative qualities are no longer known. The traditionary story that the Northumbrian Prince, Osway, was drowned here, is too ridiculous to deserve notice.

shippes, and a most pleasaunt flat coaste subjecte to noe inundation or hazarde, make that country happy, if the people had the grace to make use of their owne happinesse; which may be amended if it please God to send them trafique and good example of thrifte.*

But the most remarkable, (though perhaps it ought not to be called a singular) circumstance connected with 'Roseberry Topping,' is the quantity of petrified marine substances which its internal structure presents to the naturalist, we say 'not singular,' because similar productions have been discovered on the tops of many hills still higher and farther removed from the sea than Rosebury; and yet perhaps no naturalist has hitherto accounted satisfactorily for the phenomenon. This, however, is not the place for entering on so curious a disquisition, especially as Mr. Graves hazards no distinct opinion of his own as to the cause of it, though he quotes the conjectural observations of M. Anthony Moro and Dr. Sullivan.

The market town of Guisborough is still illustrious for the remains of its ancient priory, although those remains are now reduced to little more than the east window which, however, is singularly beautiful. Guisborough formed part of the wapentake granted to Brus, and passed according to all the changes of that property down to the reign of Philip and Mary, when it was granted by the crown to the ancestor of the Chaloners, its present proprietors. This family, and through them the whole district of Cleveland, was very considerably enriched by the fortunate discovery which sir Thomas Chaloner made in the days of Elizabeth of a vein of alum, which has ever since been worked to their great advantage by his descendants, although it is not now confined to their estate, portions of it having been likewise found in other neighbouring parts of the wapentake. The account of the original discovery, which is rather singular, is given in the following words by Camden. Speaking of Guisborough, he says.

* This verily is a passing good place, and may well for pleasantnesse, delightsome variety, and rare gifts of nature, contend with *Puteoli* in Italy, which in regard of healthy situation it also farre excellet. The aire is mollified and made more milde by the mountains seated between it, and what way the sea yieldeth a cold and winterly disposition: the soile fruitfull and plentuous in grasse affordeth delectable floures a great part of the yeere, and richly aboundeth with veines of metall and alum-earth of sundry colours, but especially of ocher, and murray, likewise of iron, out of which they have now begun to try very good alum and coperose. Which with learned skill and cunning not many years since, sir Thomas Chaloner, knight (a learned searcher into nature's workes and unto whose

charge our most high and mightie king hath committed his son Prince Henry, the lovely joy and delight of Britain) first discovered by observing, that the leaves of trees were of a more weake greene colour here than in other places, that the oakes had their mootes spreading broad, but very eb within the ground, the which had much strength but small store of sappe, that the earth standing upon clay, and being of divers colotirs, whitish, yellowish, and blew, was never frozen, and in a cleere night glittered in the pathes like unto glasse.'

Kirkleatham (sir Charles Turner's) is honourably distinguished for the benevolent institution of sir William, an ancestor of the present proprietor, who in the year 1676 founded there an hospital, which still subsists, for the maintenance of forty poor people, ten old men, ten old women, ten boys, and ten girls, the most useful and charitable foundation, however singular, for the strict designation of its particular objects.

Skelton-Castle, now the seat of the Wartons, was in days of old the grand baronial residence of the family of Brus, long before that family became illustrious all over Europe by the accession of the regal dignity in the person of Robert, the champion and preserver of Scottish independence. Of late years it was the festive residence of Hall, the whimsical but respectable author of 'Crazy Tales,' of whom there are a few trifling notices in the present work, hardly deserving of quotation.

Upon the whole, this history of Cleveland is one of the most barren and unamusing compilations which it has ever been our fate to notice under the head of 'county-history;' and we were the most disappointed at finding it so from the expectations which we had previously conceived on account of affinity between the district under review and its near neighbour, Craven. If the author of this work had ever seen Mr. Whitaker's account of that interesting division of the north riding, we will not do him the injustice to suppose that he would have reaped so little advantage from so excellent an example. Concluding, therefore, that he has never happened to meet with the book in question, we earnestly recommend it to him, to procure and diligently peruse it as well as its companion, 'the History of Whalley,' before he undertakes the survey of any other county or district.

ART. V.—*Parliamentary Logick: to which are subjoined two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons of Ireland, and other Pieces, by the Right Honourable William Gerard Hamilton; with an Appendix containing, Considerations on the Corn Laws, by Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. Never before printed. pp. 299. 8vo. T. Payne, Pall-mall. 1808.*

WILLIAM Gerard Hamilton, was born in Lincoln's Inn, on the 28th of January, 1728-9 O. S. His father who had been an advocate at the court of session in Scotland, had removed to England after the union in 1707, where he obtained an admission to the English bar, and was employed in almost every appeal from Scotland to the House of Lords for a great number of years. Our author received the rudiments of his education at Winchester school; and on the 1st of March 1744-5 he was entered a gentleman commoner of Oriol College in Oxford. At Oxford he appears to have paid considerable attention to polite literature; and the four odes which are published in this volume and which were written while he was at the University, display a strong predilection for the great poets of antiquity.

On leaving Oxford Mr. Hamilton became a member of Lincoln's Inn, where he obtained at least a respectable initiation into the knowledge of the law; but the death of his father in 1754 left him at liberty to follow the bent of his inclinations, which urged him to seek for celebrity in the vortex of political life. In May 1754 he was chosen member for Petersfield. His first *debut* as an orator was made on the thirteenth of November 1755 in a debate which arose on two treaties which had been recently concluded between the emperor of Russia and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The subject was not, as the editor says:

'very favourable to a display of eloquence, but no first speech in parliament ever produced such an effect, or acquired such eulogies, both within and without the house of commons; and perhaps few modern speeches of even veteran orators ever obtained a higher, or more general reputation.'

In one of the letters of Horace Walpole written two days after the debate, he thus commemorates this first essay of Mr. Hamilton.

'He spoke for the first time and was at once perfection. His speech was set, and full of antitheses; but those antitheses were full of argument; indeed his speech was the most full of argument of the whole day; and he broke through the regularity of his own composition, answered other people, and fell into his own track again with the greatest ease. His figure is advantageous, his voice strong and

clear, his manner sprited, and the whole with the ease of an established speaker.'

This speech of Mr. Hamilton however excited expectations of future excellence which were never realized. It seemed a great effort which exhausted his powers; for his subsequent exertions, though far from contemptible, appear to have been very inferior to his first. In April 1756, he was appointed one of the lords of the board of trade, of which lord Halifax was president. In 1761 Mr. Hamilton accompanied this nobleman to Ireland, in the important situation of principal secretary to the lord lieutenant. He accepted the same office under Hugh, Earl of Northumberland, in 1763; but he afterwards resigned it in disgust.

'On his return to England, and for a long time afterwards, he certainly meditated taking an active part in the political warfare of the House of Commons. But he never again addressed the chair, though he was chosen into every new parliament that was summoned from that time to May 1796, when he was nearly the father of the House of Commons. In this period the only office that he filled was that of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, which he held from 1769 to April 1784, when he resigned it to Mr. Forster, in order to accommodate the government of Ireland, from which he received an equivalent compensation.'

In an interval of leisure between Jan. 1769, and Jan. 1772, Mr. Hamilton is supposed by some persons to have written the letters of Junius, but we entirely concur with the editor in thinking that the hypothesis is totally destitute of truth. We do not rate the excellence of those letters so high as many of our contemporaries; but we still think that they indicate abilities, if not of a more transcendant degree, of a different species from those which were possessed by Mr. Hamilton.

'Mr. Hamilton,' says the judicious editor of this volume, 'was so far from being an ardent party-man, that, during the long period before mentioned, he never closely connected himself with any party whatsoever. If indeed Richard Earl Temple had ever attained the situation of first lord of the Treasury, by the favour of that nobleman he would probably have filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer; but this single circumstance is surely not a sufficient ground to denominate him a party-man. Notwithstanding his extreme love of political discussion, he never, it is believed, was heard to speak of any administration or any opposition with vehemence of censure or of praise; a character so opposite to the fervent and sometimes coarse acrimony of JUNIUS, that this consideration alone is sufficient to settle the point as far as relates to our author for ever.'

'It may be observed,' says the editor, 'that the figures and allusions of JUNIUS are often of so different a race from those which our author would have used, that he never spoke of some of them without the strongest disapprobation; and particularly when a friend, for the purpose of drawing him out, affected to think him the writer of these papers; and, bantering him on the subject, taxed him with that passage in which a nobleman, then in a high office, is said to have 'travelled through every sign in the political Zodiac, from the SCORPION, in which he *stung* Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a VIRGIN,' &c.—as if this imagery were much in his style,—Mr. Hamilton with great vehemence exclaimed, 'Had I written such a sentence as that, I should have thought, I had forfeited all pretensions to good taste in composition for ever.'

'Mr. Hamilton's talents were of the first rate. He possessed a very acute understanding: the quickest conception, and the clearest discernment and judgment. The facility, elegance, and precision, with which he expressed his sentiments, were unrivalled. In conversation his style was generally compressed, sententious, and energetic; but perhaps somewhat too much abounded in points and antitheses. His wit was of a peculiar kind; rather acute and shrewd, than lively and brilliant; yet it was often playful, particularly in improving on a fanciful idea suggested by another. He saw through characters by an intuitive glance, and portrayed them with uncommon felicity, by a few bold and masterly touches. His sensibility was exquisite. Hence among strangers he was reserved; and to those whose manners were vulgar and boisterous, or whose talk denoted a shallowness of intellect, he was somewhat fastidious, and could not easily conceal his dislike. But in a select company, and among his particular friends, he was frank, easy, and communicative; yet even in his freest hours, his conversation, though unstudied, was animated and elegant, and strongly marked by that curiosity of expression which very happily suited the conceptions of his mind. In argument he was ingenious, acute, and candid. His criticism on books was almost always just, and seldom obvious. He had read many of the most celebrated authors of the seventeenth century with a particular view to their language; and in forming his style on the best models, made it a rule in writing, though not in parliamentary debate, to reject all weak and unnecessary words, and to render his composition as compressed and energetick as he could make it.—On the first view of any complicated question, his opinion was almost always right; but on reflection, his ingenuity sometimes led him astray: hence he was apt to dwell too minutely on some collateral circumstance or subordinate matter; and deceived by his own refinement, and viewing the point under consideration in a great variety of lights, he doubted, hesitated, and perhaps decided erroneously at last. Those therefore who knew him well, always endeavoured to obtain his first thoughts on any question, and rarely consulted him twice on the same subject.'

In 1760 Mr. Hamilton first formed an acquaintance with

Dr. Johnson, which was cemented into an intimacy which was interrupted only by the death of the great moralist. Mr. H. was never married, and as he never had either brother or sister, he was never placed in the midst of those domestic relations, which contribute more than any thing else to exercise the benevolent sensibilities of the human breast. But he is said to have been a kind and indulgent master to his servants, and to have performed many acts of splendid liberality to necessitous individuals. He died in Upper Brook-street on the 16th of July 1796, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

This volume includes a work entitled 'Parliamentary Logick;' 'a Representation of the Lords Justices of Ireland, in 1760, touching the Transmission of a Privy-council Money-bill;' 'a Speech on the Privy-council Money-bill;' 'a Message to the House of Commons from George Dunk Halifax, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 23d of January, 1762;' 'a Speech delivered in the House of Commons in February, 1762, on a Motion for raising Additional Forces;' 'Resolutions of the House of Commons concerning the Appointments of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;' 'the Answer of the Lord Lieutenant to the Address of the House of Commons;' with four Odes and an original Essay of Dr. Samuel Johnson, entitled, 'Considerations on the Corn Laws.'

Of these pieces the most important appears to be that which is entitled 'Parliamentary Logick.' This consists of a multitude of brief, but condensed observations, thrust together without much method, like so many detached maxims, many of which, however, appear to have been the product of a reflective, penetrating, and discriminating mind. They often evince much depth of thought and much subtility of remark. But many of them are more calculated to improve the disputant, than to enlighten the statesman, and to aid the cause of sophistry than of truth.

We shall quote some of the rules which the author proposes for the practice of the parliamentary disputant.

'Consider before you go, (to the house) what ought to be proved, and how probably it will be evaded: and see that the true principle is not removed, and a false one substituted: you know the consequences you want; find out a principle to justify them. When you produce an instance to illustrate, let the instance be in itself invidious, as well as illustratory. When it is with you, separate the *fact* from the *argument*; when against you, blend them. It may be right to take great pains to remove an apprehension that is groundless, if the consequence of its prevailing would be very mischievous. Consider the common-places to which a subject is likely to give occasion. We are to consider, how a thing

stands by positive statutes; by parliamentary precedents, by the resolves of the house, by opinions of lawyers, statesmen, &c. &c. To begin with those things which though they do not belong to the question, are brought to affect the merits of it.—Shew that rules of judging applicable in other cases, are not so in this. See if it [the point in debate] can be put upon a popular ground: every question has some parts better than others; separate those in your mind, and suppress one, and colour the other, as it suits. Run a vice into a virtue, and *VICE VERSA*.—Consider thoroughly your strong points, one by one: and always take into consideration the prevailing prejudices. State not only what the question is but what it is not, and what it is mistaken for. Observe what has been heard with pleasure, and what with aversion, in the speeches of those who have gone before you. There can be but three causes why a law is made imperfect; want of power, want of knowledge, and want of inclination, in those who made it. No subject is without its appropriate adherent circumstances, which distinguish it from every other. A judicious discovery and skilful connection of these is a principal thing. Happy amplification is, when the subject admits of many beginnings, and several pauses in a period; and the incidents, heaped on one another, gradually ascend to a summit of grandeur. It ennobles what is familiar, aggravates what is wrong, strengthens arguments and inflames passions. It consists in number. It is a series of thoughts rising one upon another; it is a complete connection of all the particular circumstances inherent in a subject, progressively heightening to a point. Two things which differ in sort, cannot be compared in degree. They cannot with propriety be said to be equal, superior, or inferior. When you cannot convince, a heap of comparisons will dazzle. In examining, the words ought to be reduced to direct, positive, intelligible propositions, and then compare them with one another. Men are apt to deny a principle in one part of their arguments, and yet have recourse to it in another. Men are apt to leave out something, and to decide upon a part, so that truth and error are blended in the decision. Take the parts of a question asunder, and omit what is not the point, and decide on those only which influence the question. Consider the nature of the proof, of which a thing is capable. Do not rest on testimony; where testimony has nothing to do, nor with probability when a thing is capable of demonstration. Never regard *COMMON*, or *UNCOMMON*, as a mark of truth or falsehood. Distinction makes things clear, and division perplexed. The most shining, though not the most argumentative parts of a speech, are the easiest answered. If you have no argument to object to, object to a word. Do not assent to any thing on appearances or on slight grounds; and much less on none. Ideas of the question are changed, by changing the terms, or by adding others. Thus the ideas are bent, and varied, and become more serviceable to the purpose. Form a clear idea of the question, independent of words. Keep it through the whole argument steadily in your view. Do not suffer the least change of the terms,

either by addition, subtraction, or substitution; and then you will perceive what is superfluous, what direct to, and what slides by, the question. Free the question from all doubtful terms, and limit it to its special extent; or declare it is to be taken in its more general sense. When you cannot resist, then wit, fancy, subtlety, and craft, are of service. Distinguish what is fixt and inseparable in a thing, from occasional occurrences, mere incidents, and only circumstances. Distinguish between what is defence, and what apology. Laws cannot regulate morality, as they do strict right, and particular justice. In a single instance, you may separate motive from deed; not so in settled habits, and repeated instances. Things true in a qualified sense, are often laid down as being so, in an unconditional one. Have a method, but conceal it. Foreign circumstances are sometimes obtruded, and these very circumstances are made the ground of the decision. It is candid, to allow weight in an objection, but not prudent, unless you can afterwards answer it. One probable argument is not conclusive: the very nature of a disputable question is where something plausible, or probable, may be said on both sides; but probabilities are to be balanced. The conclusion will always follow the worse part. Consider, first, the true distinction and line of argument. Distinguish between what is positive, and what is only deducible; and an inducement from a rule that ought to be decisive. When things are supposed, examine the grounds of supposition. If one part of an argument is believed, and not the rest, it is often worse, than if none had been believed. A concurrence of independent and indifferent testimony, having no similarity of motive or design, no common principle to act upon, is the strongest: nothing but notoriety can produce such a concurrence. Do not mistake, nor let others mistake, a strong, peculiar circumstance, for a general principle. Perfection of law consists in its being so framed, that it may govern accidents, not lie at the mercy of them. For a law to owe its utility to a conjuncture is but little praise. A word having two senses, men will lay down the first part of their argument in one of its senses, and the last in the other. There being no repugnance, is a proof that a thing may be, not that it is: though there being a repugnance is a proof that it cannot be. There are cases, where you may be for the principle, and against the thing when they are involved. If you confute the reason on which a thing is pretended to be necessary, you need not enter into the propriety of the thing. Under pretences of explanation, an entire addition is often made. Positions harsh in themselves, may be made otherwise if led to by a series of preparatory truths. Connecting things which really have, and which yet do not seem to have, any necessary relation, has a great effect. Cast about wide: a comprehensive view marks a great mind, and furnishes materials that surprise. In putting a question to your adversary, let it be the last thing you say. Examine whether the justification of a particular thing may not upon the same principle be extended to justify any thing. If the whole of a question is against you, speak to a part as if it were the whole. A thing insignificant in itself may be very important and essential in its consequences. It seldom happens that the real

reasons for proposing a thing are the avowed reasons : the distinguishing these makes a fine and brilliant fund of argument. Upon every law read a contemporary history and a pamphlet of the time. Observe, when your opponents admit the principle, how they get off upon the distinction. When in debate a common principle of agreement is found out, see how near the sentiments of those who differ approach to each other : by that you will find out the precise point of enquiry. It is easier to confute the argument of one who supports the question, than the question itself. Acquire a number of propositions, observations, arguments, experiences, reasonings, that you on all occasions may have certain axioms to recur to : then consider whether they are cause, effect, substance, mode, power, or property,—that the mind may be inured to method. The best verbal fallacies are those which consist not in the ambiguity of a single word, but in the ambiguous syntaxis of many put together. To shew the weakness of an argument, strip it of its superfluous ideas, which being blended with those on which the inference depends, seem to shew a connexion where there is none. Then lay the naked ideas in due order, on which the argument depends, and the fallacy will appear. The principles of debate are so few, that it seldom happens, but what you may apply against your adversary in one part of your argument, you are obliged to apply for yourself in another ; and to take up the principle you have disclaimed, and to disclaim the principle you have taken up. Watch the first setting off, and the manner of stating the question at the outset : *there*, is generally the fraud. By taking only the first and last part of what is said, and passing over all the intermediate links which connect them, an argument is made to appear extremely ridiculous. The parts of a speech that admit of observation, are most commonly the epithets. People are not so often wrong in the thing, as in the degree ; and that is marked out by epithets. In most arguments people say too much ; and as they then must fail in many, or at least some, particulars, you may either confine yourself entirely to those particulars in which they have failed ; or at least take notice of them, to prejudice them, and the rest of their argument. Every particular subject may afford some topick of general declamation.—Consider always what this is, and use it. If any body uses against you (and sometimes even though it should be for you) a quaint and overcharged, an evasive, or, in any light, ridiculous expression, the ludicrous application of it, and the bringing it back to the House in a new and an absurd view, has a great effect ; and this is true, not only in debate, but in conversation. Watch your opportunity, and speak after a person whose speaking has been tiresome. Watch likewise not only the proper person you are to follow, but the proper stage and time of the debate, at which you are to speak. It has often a finer effect in debate, to insinuate than to assert a thing, and especially in matters of reproach and censure ; in which cases it is attended with this advantage, that you are less liable to an attack. Come as immediately as you can to the substance of the question : avoid in general all introduction or preface, and never make a law-

yer-like division of your speech into several heads. Nothing disgusts a popular assembly more than being apprised of your intention to speak long:—even when you design it, declare the contrary, that they may be drawn on by degrees; and if you perceive that you have got into length, and that those who hear you begin to be weary, make a break in your speech, and apologise for it: this apologise will have the effect of inducing them to lend their attention a little longer. Take a comprehensive view of your subject: consider all the possible lights in which it may be placed. This extensive view will make all your ideas about it clear and methodical; and most subjects will upon trial be found much narrower than they at first appear to be. Fix steadily and precisely in your own mind what is the state of the question, or at least what you wish to have it understood to be. The arguments you must then wish to answer, will fall under one of these two heads;—“as not being true,” or, if they are true, “as not being home and applicable to the question.” The concessions of an able man in argument are often the subtlest parts of it: driven to difficulty, he makes a concession that is a little to his disadvantage, to avoid being obliged to make one which is a great deal so. This it may be artifice to do, yourself; but it has a great effect when you detect its being done by others. When any thing is stated metaphorically, strip it of its magnificent dress, and put it in plain words. This will always make it easier answered, and generally throws an air of ridicule over it. If your opponents have been in government, consider all the measures they took, the laws they passed, the votes and the journals of their time; from these you will probably collect many arguments *ad hominem*. When there is a doubt as to the meaning of any thing, go yourself to the original materials, and do not trust to any report from others who pretend to have examined them. It is not true that the same causes will have the same effect, unless they have the same materials to operate upon. When you propose to regulate or restrain any thing, they who oppose you will argue, (and it is artful so to do,) as if you meant to annihilate it. Endeavour to introduce a moral sentiment, where it is least expected. Pope observes, that virtue thus put upon us by surprise has a good effect. It generally happens, that they who oppose your proposition as pernicious, try in some part of their argument to prove likewise that it will be ineffectual; which proves at the same time that it cannot be pernicious. Consider, whether a thing differs in its principles and likewise in its circumstances, or only in one of the two. You will be perspicuous, if you finish one thing before you begin another. Though you should not dwell tiresomely upon a number of minute particulars, yet without some degree of particularity a speech is pointless and ineffectual. Most of the things asserted in argument are true in themselves, but not true in the sense in which they are used; to explain this at large is one of the finest fields of argument. Observe the proposition laid down at the outset of the argument, and see that it is not changed; it scarce ever happens that a speaker abides uniformly through the whole of his speech by the thing he first set out with. Never let a

thing rest in generals, if you can possibly bring it home to particulars ; and when you say a thing was done so and so, specify in what instances. On any constitutional question, consult the Statute-Book in Charles the First's time, after the Restoration, after the Revolution, and the settlement of the Crown in the time of Queen Anne ; for there can scarce be any great question, on which there is not some law in one of these places. Nothing has a greater effect in an oration, than a moral sentiment arising out of the subject before you. The persuasive parts of eloquence should be embellished by sentiments, but not overloaded by words. Have a particular knowledge of all the circumstances regarding the subject, and a general knowledge of all the subjects relating to and connected with it. Shew your knowledge general and particular : your talent for argument, by bringing things from a distance to bear on your point ; your talent for distinguishing, by separating things that seem like ; your pathetick, by the choice of what is most affecting, and arising out of the subject. Consider in every dispute, whether the question is not a question of comparison ; and then whether the disputants compare the same objects together, or things widely different. In viewing a subject, consider not only the thing itself, but look likewise to the right and left of it, and by that means associate whatever has a necessary or natural relation with it. Admit, if you can with safety, what your opponent says, and shew it proves nothing. Men are more careful that what they say shall be just, than that it shall be conclusive to the point : the first is mere good sense, the second is something more ; it is just reasoning. A material argument is often to be drawn from the order in which things were done, or laws have been passed : what people have neglected to say or do, generally throws great light on what they have actually said or done. Carefully avoid all local, technical, and professional phrases.

The sentences which we have selected will show that Mr. Hamilton was well acquainted with the qualifications which were requisite to constitute an accomplished and dexterous debater. But some of the rules, which he lays down, are the evasive machinations of craft rather than the directions of an honest and philosophic mind ; and the practice could be incompatible with that probity which is averse from falsehood and intent on truth. We know that the object of many parliamentary orators is to make the worse appear the better question. Such persons may derive benefit from those parts of this logic of Mr. Hamilton, on which we cannot bestow unqualified commendation. But many of the observations appear to be as acute as they are just.

We have not discovered any remarkable effusions of eloquence in the speeches of Mr. Hamilton which are found in this publication.

ART. VI.—*Caledonian Sketches*, by Sir J. Carr, concluded from p. 322.

OF the university of Edinburgh, sir John seems to ascribe the flourishing state to the small salaries of the professors, who having no fellowships nor livings to supersede the necessity of exertion, derive their principal support from the fees of the students. Thus the duties of their stations are efficaciously discharged, and the best interests of the university promoted. The students keep but one term in the year, or 'from the beginning of November to the end of April, in the ensuing year.'—Thus those repeated interruptions of a continuity of study, which are occasioned by the short terms of an English university are avoided. The students live dispersed in the town;—and of course are not subject to the common restrictions of collegiate discipline; but this is not said to be productive of any disorder or inconvenience. Sir John well remarks that

'young men of moderate fortune are not mortified by being forced into a style of living and extravagance, to which their finances are inadequate. By living in the city they have it in their power to visit genteel families, and to temper the austerity of learning with the amenity of good manners.'—

There are not, on an average, less than fifteen hundred students at the university; but we are told that

'the difficulty of procuring subjects for dissection renders London as a school of practical anatomy, infinitely superior to Edinburgh.'

At Leith sir John says that he was

'Much struck with the elegant appearance of the grammar-school, which stands on the south west part of the links, or downs of Leith. It is a very recent structure, the expense of which was defrayed by public subscription; it was begun in 1805, and is just finished. The rooms of the different classes are large and handsome. I had the good fortune of being there at a public examination: I witnessed the examination of the female classes only, which was singularly interesting. Some magistrates and clergymen and a great number of the friends of the children were present; and the whole presented a spectacle at once gratifying to the mind and heart. The young ladies (for though thus publicly educated, they had the appearance of great respectability) were carefully and strictly examined, in the presence of this crowded assembly in the various branches of learning in which they had been instructed; and their answers were such as gave great gratification to all present, and indeed frequently seemed surprisingly quick and able.'

We entertain great doubts respecting the real good which is produced by these *public examinations*. They appear to us to encourage effrontery more than talent; and, with the

female part of the pupils at least they tend to destroy that modest diffidence which is the most amiable feature in the youth of the softer sex. The desire of popular applause, though it is not always excluded from the considerations of a virtuous mind, is yet seldom a right motive of action, even when it is a secondary, and never when it is the principal. Of female virtue the proper sphere is the domestic and retired, not that which becomes a sort of theatrical spectacle, and attracts the public gaze.

The water at Leith is said to be very bad and to possess the quality of corroding lead; but, though the inhabitants might procure good about a quarter of a mile distant from the place where they obtain the bad, they persist in drinking the latter, either through indolence or prejudice; so difficult is it to change the domestic and long established habits of men.

As an instance of the singular ingenuity which the Scotch have evinced in accelerating the distillation of their favourite liquor whiskey, Sir John mentions from the report of the lords commissioners of the treasury, in the year 1799, that

‘a forty three gallon still was brought to such perfection, as to be discharged at the rate of once in two minutes and three quarters, which is *almost twenty-two times in an hour.*’

The process may, it is said, be performed with still greater velocity without any injury of the quality of the spirit; though the duty was settled in the year 1780 upon the supposition that stills could not be discharged more than seven times a week.—The extensive use of whiskey among the lower orders in Scotland, is deeply to be deplored; and it is greatly to be wished that some legislative restrictions could be devised to check the production of this poisonous fluid. But where any article of general consumption is favourable to the increase of the revenue, few governments care whether it be pernicious or salutary to the health or morals of the people. Sir John, however, says that he

‘saw but few instances during his stay at Edinburgh, of any one who might be considered as *foe*, or full. The low Scotch say when they have made a man tipsy;’ ‘*I filled him drunk.*’

Sir John says that

‘The markets of Edinburgh are abundantly supplied with fish, flesh and fowl. The vegetables are peculiarly excellent. A sea-weed, called *dulse*, which grows on the rocks near Edinburgh, and which is used by the farmers for manure, without undergoing the least preparation, is much eaten and relished by the poor people, to whom a large handful is sold for a penny. The *dulse*, the water, and the

salt-sellers, (the latter being women who carry the article about in creels or baskets) are amongst the petty venders who most arrest the attention of a stranger in the streets. In a most abundant supply of roses and strawberries, Edinburgh much resembles Paris: the latter are brought (in baskets which hold a Scottish pint) by carts to market; and it is estimated that upwards of 100,000 Scottish, or 400,000 English pints are annually sold during the season in Edinburgh and the environs.

Sir John tells us that he visited every part of the Tolbooth, in Edinburgh, which is the prison for criminals and debtors, but which is a disgrace to that highly civilized and polished capital.

"I saw nothing in it but to condemn, except the cleanliness displayed in many of the miserable cells, by the prisoners of both sexes. It stands in, or rather encumbers and disfigures, the middle of the high street, towards the western extremity of it; a platform and gallery project from the north side, upon which criminals doomed to die suffer the sentence of the law, and are suspended as in England. Executions in Edinburgh are very rare. Old Lord chief-justice Fortescue used to assign a curious reason for the law inflicting death more frequently in England than in other countries. "More men are hanged in England in one year than in France in seven, because the English have better *hartes*; the Scotchmen likewise never *dare rob*, but only commit larcenies." In 1804, and 1805, only two capital punishments were inflicted in Edinburgh; 1806 none, 1807, four criminals suffered death, and up to February 1808 only one. Of the malefactors, only three belonged to the Edinburgh district. A curious custom once existed in this city, with regard to the public executioner. On every market day, he was authorised to go through the market with a brass ladle, or wooden spoon, and to fill it from every sack of meal, corn, &c. Early in the last century, the magistrates upon the succession of a new hang man to office, compromised this singular custom, which had rather too strong a resemblance to robbery, for a pecuniary compensation."

In c. viii. Sir John among other matter gives an account of the judicial and ecclesiastical establishments of Scotland. We had some time ago an occasion to mention the feuds which had been occasioned at Glasgow, by the attempt to introduce an organ into the service of the kirk. "The common people," says Sir John, "call the episcopal chapels which have organs, the *whistling kirks*." Sir J. laments the disuse of "this grand and solemn instrument," but he thinks it fortunate that the bagpipe, which is a national favourite, has not been substituted in its place, though the sounds of this instrument might not have harmonised amiss with the nasal notes of some of the ministers.—The author says,

‘Many of the lower orders like a particular cant or whine in their preachers: in former times this was called the gospel *soucht*, or sound; and the more a preacher has of it the more he is followed.’

Sir John states that there are only ten Jews resident in Edinburgh, and that there is not a synagogue in all Scotland. This circumstance is certainly an indication of Scottish opulence on one side, and of Scottish acuteness on the other.—The sacrament, which is called the *holy fair* is administered only once a year in each parish. Great preparations are made before receiving it; and the minister examines the moral fitness of his parishioners.—The lower orders of people are said to be so well versed in theological discussions, and to possess such sagacity of recollection, that any person would be likely to experience instant detection who should preach a sermon which he had delivered before, or should promulge doctrines contrary to the formulary of the national faith.

The *maiden*, “a Scottish instrument of decapitation,” which is said to have served as a model for the French guillotine is still preserved in a cellar under the rooms of the society of antiquaries at Edinburgh. It is thus described by our traveller.

‘The frame is something like a painter’s easel, about ten feet high, having grooves in its inner edges in which an axe, heavily surmounted with lead was placed, and which fell with precision, upon being disengaged from the peg which held it at top, upon the head of the culprit, which was fastened upon a cross bar about three feet and a half from the bottom. The axe of this instrument is a square, that of the French guillotine being a square cut diagonally: it was frequently used in Halifax in the time of queen Elizabeth.—It is a curious coincidence that the regent Morton, who first introduced the *maiden* into Edinburgh, that M. Guillotine who improved and caused it to be used in France, under his own name, and that Brodie, who induced the magistrates of Edinburgh to adopt the new drop, now generally used in England, all severally perished by the instruments of death which they themselves had introduced.’

Sir John, who tells us that he is enthusiastically fond of music, was invited to be present at a contest of skill between some players on the bag-pipe.

‘As soon as the prize-judges were seated, the folding doors opened. A Highland piper entered in full tartan array, and began to press from the bag of his pipes, which were decorated with long pieces of ribband, sounds so loud and horrible, that, to my imagination, they were comparable only to those of the eternally tormented.’

In this manner he strutted up and down with the most

stately march, and occasionally enraptured his audience who expressed the influence of his instrument by loud and reiterated plaudits. But though Sir John thought that this species of national music is only an intolerable blast of sound, without any thing gratifying to the ear, yet the force of association is seen in the wonderful impression which the dull monotony of this instrument is known to have made on the Scotch in particular situations.

'At the battle of Quebec in 1760 whilst the British troops were retreating in great disorder, the general complained to a field-officer in Fraser's regiment of the bad behaviour of his corps.' 'Sir,' said he with great warmth, 'You did very wrong in forbidding the pipers to play this morning; nothing encourages the Highlanders so much in the day of action. Nay even now they would be of use.' 'Let them blow like the devil, then,' replied the general, 'if it will bring back the men.' The pipers were then ordered to play a favourite martial air; and the Highlanders, the moment they heard the music, returned, and formed with alacrity in the rear.'

In the Highlands, which, from a very early period resounded with the sounds of the harp, there is now not one harper to be found.—'In the old castles of several Highland chieftains, the harper's seat is pointed out; as the harper's window at Duntillin castle, in the island of Sky, the ancient seat of Lord Macdonald's family; the harper's gallery, at Castlelashtan in Argyleshire, and others.

While Lord Moira was commander in chief in Scotland, he resided at Duddingstone-house, a seat belonging to the Marquis of Abercorn in the vicinity of Edinburgh.

'His lordship lived in a style of splendid hospitality, and became highly popular by having two pipers in his house, and a great mull, or Scotch horn, filled with snuff, continually lying upon the table, as well as by a judicious adoption of the customs of the people in other instances.'

We are happy to record any instance, however trivial, of the good sense, urbanity and courtesy of this amiable nobleman.

P. 208, Sir John says that "the Scotch rival us most completely in the purity of their written English;" p. 210 that "Scottish authors cannot now injure their style by imitating one another, and that English authors may in many instances consult it as a model."—That the English composition of the Scotch is often *grammatically* more correct than that of the native English authors we can readily allow; but we believe that it will always be found *idiomatically* more impure. Indeed we hardly know a Scottish writer, in whose works we could not point out numerous idiomatical incongruities.—The

Scotch for the most part studying English as a dead language, learn to speak and write according to grammatical rules, against which they are solicitous not to offend; but though the grammar of a language may be learned by rule, the idiom can hardly be perfectly understood without a long and continued residence among the natives where it is spoken in most purity and elegance.—The idiomatic niceties of a language are hardly susceptible of being taught by rule, and if they could be confined within the precincts of particular rules, those rules would be so numerous as to elude the attention and flit from the memory.—They rather perplex than instruct.—It is not merely retentiveness of memory, but *experience of ear* which is most necessary to impress the genuine peculiarities of idiom, the delicate variations of which are readily perceived by a native, but are not easily mastered by a foreigner. Even the style of Robertson, though more elaborately polished than that of most Scottish writers, exhibits instances of awkwardness in some of the combinations, of quaintness in the phraseology, and of stiffness in construction; which shew that the author, notwithstanding all the pains which he took, was not *completely at home* in the use of the English idiom.

In the twelfth chapter before he leaves Edinburgh, our good-humoured traveller describes the mode of administering relief to the poor in Scotland, on which subject he quotes some excellent remarks, from Lord Kames, and adds some sensible observations of his own.

Sir John has detained us so long at Edinburgh that we must pass more rapidly over the remainder of his tour. The knight prosecutes his journey by the Queen's ferry to Linlithgow. At Lord Hopetoun's house he observed, as he had done in other houses of Scotland, that the wainscot of the dining room had never received a coat of paint, and was told by the servant that his lord was very fond of the deal colour, though it is most cheerless and repulsive to the sight.

The Scottish process of washing attracted the attention of Sir John, who did not gaze with strict composure upon the washer-woman, who having soaped the linen, *kilted her coats*, or raised them above her knees, and then danced round the tub pressing out the dirt with her feet. After visiting the celebrated iron works of the Carron company, where more than five thousand pieces of ordnance have at one period been made in a year, he passes on to Stirling, where he finds every part of the ancient castle converted into modern barracks. The insulated castle of Lochleven near Kinross affords sir John an opportunity which he does not suffer to escape of detailing the confinement of Mary in that fortress, her escape and her subsequent misfortunes. In the little town

of Kinross, 'there are no less than three schools, in each of which writing and accounts are taught at three shillings per annum for each pupil.'

'With the exception of the New Town, Edinburgh, and the town of Perth, the capital of the county of Perthshire, is by far the best built and most regular of any in Scotland. Perhaps a finer situation for a capital could not be found. The streets are broad and long, well paved, with handsome buildings on either side, and many elegant shops.'

'The salmon-fisheries of the rivers are very extensive. Fish packed in ice are sent to London every spring, and part of the summer. So abundant are the fisheries that three thousand salmon have been caught in one morning, weighing altogether eight and forty thousand pounds.'

Sir John travelled through the narrow but beautiful plain called the Carse of Gowrie, which extended for sixteen miles along the northern shore of the Tay, to Dundee, which is a fine and flourishing town. A strong passion for literature is very conspicuous in this town as well as in Perth. At Aberdeen, where we shall next attend Sir John, he celebrates the memory of the late Dr. Beattie in language which, according to our notions, sickens with affectation.

'His refined modesty,' says the author, 'acted upon his rich and cultivated mind as a fine veil upon a beautiful face, increasing the charms which it rather covered than concealed.'

We are then told that the piety of his sovereign, captivated with the eloquence of the holy advocate, sought for the pleasure of his personal conversation.

The Lunatic-hospital at Aberdeen is said to deserve attention for 'its neatness and order, and the excellent treatment' of the unfortunate inhabitants. We are then told, that Dr. Dyce has tried the following experiment in violent paroxysms of insanity.

'He has had a machine like a pump made, into which the maniac is shut, and so closely confined in an erect position, so as not to be able to move, in which state, water is pumped upon his bare head. The terror produced by this process, has, I believe never failed to subdue the paroxysm and to render the patient much milder and more rational.'

Previously to the present war Aberdeen carried on a considerable trade in the export of

'Worsted stockings knitted on wires. The principal manufactures at present consist of cottons and linens.'—'There are also several
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very extensive manufactures of white and coloured threads, for which articles Aberdeen has been long famous.—‘An acre of land here is worth double the rent of an acre in the neighbourhood of London owing to the absence of poor rates.’

For a considerable distance before our traveller reached Fochabers, the ‘vast plantations of the Duke of Gordon spread themselves before the view; and the name of his grace was mentioned with all the homage due to that of a great chieftain or a little prince.’ Sir John had not the pleasure of seeing the noble owners of this stately mansion, which presents a prodigious front of five hundred and sixty-eight feet, but he beheld the portrait of the duchess with wonderful complacency.

‘A more frank and lovely face I never beheld. The beautiful conceits of Cowley were present to my mind as I gazed upon it,’

‘Love in her sunny eyes does basking play,
Love walks the pleasant mazes of her hair;
Loves does on both her lips for ever stray,
And sows and reaps a thousand kisses there.’

The Scottish peasantry are one of the hardiest races of men under the sun. The following is stated by sir John as the customary diet by which all this compactness of bone and vigour of muscle are produced.

‘The food of the farmer’s servants is very simple in this as well as in all the northern counties in Scotland. On week days their ordinary breakfast is porridge made of oatmeal, eaten warm with milk or small beer; their dinners a kind of flummery, called sowens, which I saw for the first time used in the lunatic asylum at Aberdeen, made from the bran of oatmeal, and generally eaten with milk; and for supper greens or cabbages, either cut small or mashed, and afterwards boiled, with an addition of oatmeal and salt; at each meal they use bread made of oats, bean, and pease-meal. Broth made of pot-barley, with greens and roots, and a little butcher’s meat, solemnize the Lord’s day.’

We were much pleased with the following instance of kindness and civility in the lower orders of Scotland. A few miles before sir John, who was on horseback, reached Nairn, he came to a gloomy heath from which two roads diverged and he knew not which to take.

‘The night,’ says he, ‘was advancing, I was alone, and all was silent. In *this* dilemma I rode back to a little *black town*, which I had passed, consisting of some miserable turf hovels, the inhabitants of which had all retired to rest; after knocking at the door of one of them for some time, a tall athletic peasant whose slumbers appeared to have been as sound as health and innocence generally unite to render them, addressed me with the usual salutation, ‘what’s u wull?’

Upon my telling him my situation, instead of giving me any directions, he came out, and, with no other covering than a shirt, insisted upon walking by the side of my horse for a mile, till he had seen me out of the possibility of mistaking my road, which he did with the most perfect good humour and at parting refused to accept a *douceur* for such extraordinary attention: indeed he appeared to be hurt that I should have offered it.'

Upon quitting Nairn Sir John found the Erse every where spoken; 'the male children wear philibegs, and the women and children go without shoes or stockings.'—Before he reached Inverness the knight quitted his chaise to visit the moor of Culloden, which of course invites him to expatiate on the adverse fortunes of the pretender and the intrepid fidelity of Flora Macdonald. This celebrated lady died in the year 1790 in the isle of Sky. At Inverness, 'the seat of Highland elegance and refinement,' Sir John 'experienced all the comforts of an hotel which would be respected in the most fashionable parts of London.' 'The salmon-fisheries here and at Fort George are let to London fishmongers.' 'There is a great appearance of industry and opulence, of urbanity and refinement, amongst the inhabitants.' 'The females are remarked for their beauty.'

The Scottish poor seem to furnish a most satisfactory solution of the difficult problem in political economy, whether the lower orders be benefited by literary education, whether their morals be improved and their public usefulness increased? In no part of the world is a taste for reading more generally diffused over the mass of the population; but in no part of the world is honesty more practised, property more secure, or the public tranquillity less likely to be disturbed. It is education which has in a great measure calmed the turbulent and marauding spirit of the highlands.

'In parts which appear to be impenetrable to civilization, upon the sides of frightful mountains or in dismal glens, seldom visited by the rays of heaven, the astonished and admiring traveller beholds a spectacle at once gratifying and affecting. In a hut of branches and sods, when the hour of labour is over, the young, enlightened by those institutions which do honour to human nature, are seen instructing those who are younger, or consoling the last hours of venerable and sightless age, by reading aloud the scriptures, or some pious book, printed in their own language; yet in this sorry dwelling the benighted traveller may dwell in safety amid the howling storm; not a hand will be extended to him but in kindness, not a voice will be raised but to charm his ear with the song of other times, or, if he understands the language, to store his mind with the wild, romantic and beautiful effusions of the Gaelic muse.'

The Caledonian canal which commences near Inverness,

and which is designed to unite the German with the Atlantic ocean, will, when finished, make a great accession to the trade and opulence of that town.

'The amelioration of this part of the Highlands and of a considerable distance round must be great and rapid. New sources of industry and enterprize will be opened, new settlements will be established, new towns will rise, the fisheries will be increased and agriculture will wave, wherever the soil will admit her golden harvest.'

The Highland hamlets according to Sir John, resemble, at a distance,

'A number of piles of turf. In general they are built in glens and straths, or upon the side of a lake or near a river or a stream, adjoining to which there is a little arable land.'—'A tolerable hut is divided into three parts; a luff which is the kitchen; a benn, an inner room; and a byar where the cattle are housed. Frequently the partition of the chambers is effected by an old blanket, or a piece of sailcloth. In the kitchen and frequently in the inner room there are cupboard-beds for the family; or what is more frequent when the fire on the ground is extinguished, they put their bed of heath and blankets upon the spot where it is burned, on account of the ground being dry. A true farmer loves to sleep near the byar that he may hear his cattle eat.'

'The hardihood of the Highlander is almost proverbial. He attributes his health to the keenness of the air and the want of doctors. The Highlanders are accustomed to derive comfort from what would in all probability occasion death to other men. It is well known that in cold dry windy weather, when these mountaineers are obliged to sleep amongst the hills to attend their cattle, they soak their plaid in a burn or a brook, in which having rolled themselves, they select a spot of heath upon the leeward side of some hill for their bed, where they are kept quite warm by the wet which prevents the wind from penetrating the stuff. The following whimsical characteristic anecdote is recorded to have happened in the Highlands many years since.—A hardy chieftain, when stretching himself out to sleep by the side of a hill, after a long day's hunt, observed that his son, a young man of twenty, had collected a quantity of *snow* for a pillow, on which he was preparing to lay his head, when his sturdy father severely reproached him, and would not suffer him to enjoy such a luxury.

'The colours of the plaid harmonise so well with the russet and heathy colours of the highland mountains, that they much facilitate the Highlander in the destruction of game. It cannot fail to strike a stranger with surprize that a dress so thin, and easily penetrated by rain and wind, should be used in a region which is seldom visited with either dry or warm weather. Here, as in the north of Europe, the human frame becomes indurated by exposure to all weathers, and clothing but an inferior and secondary consideration. The Norwegian suffers the snow to settle on his naked breast, and freeze there;

and the Russian generally trusts to his beard to save his throat from the cold, in a season and a climate in which, if water be thrown up into the air, it falls down in ice. So inured to, and so careless of rain, are the Highlanders, that it is related, that when an Englishman was walking with a Highland peasant, a violent storm overtook them, upon which the former buttoned his coat, and fastened the plaid which he had borrowed round, whilst the latter stripped himself naked, and seated himself upon his tartan dress, which he had formed into a bundle, and, in this manner, very contentedly waited until the rain was over, when he laughed at his companion on account of his clothes being wet, whilst his own, by this hardy contrivance, were dry.'

We shall here take our leave of Sir John without accompanying him in his excursion to the Hebrides or by Inverary and Glasgow back to England. We have, on the whole, found him an amusing traveller. He picks up a good deal of miscellaneous, but sometimes instructive, and seldom unentertaining information by the way. His book is evidently not merely the result of his own observation and research, but of other books from which he has carefully culled whatever seemed applicable to his purpose. Sir John does not appear to be a man of very deep reflection nor of very comprehensive views; he is garrulous and vain; but his garrulity is seldom offensive, and his vanity is a good humoured quality; and though we cannot bestow on him the praise of transcendent excellence, we can safely recommend his Caledonian Sketches as a very agreeable performance.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of Thomas Brand-Hollis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. Amicitia Sacrum. Large 4to. Gillett, Printer. 1808.*

THE life of Thomas Brand-Hollis, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. offers few particulars for the record of the biographer, and fewer still on which he can dwell with any peculiar satisfaction. Thomas Brand, who afterwards assumed the name of Hollis, was born in 1719. He was successively sent to be instructed at the schools of Brentwood and Felstead in Essex, and at the University of Glasgow. In July, 1748, he set out on a tour to the continent in company with Mr. Thomas Hollis, with whom Dr. Disney does not mention how Mr. Brand became acquainted. We were anxious to know whether their friendship first commenced at school, or at the university, or whether it were formed only by accident a little before they visited the continent. Had the friendship of these two gentlemen begun in early youth, and been constantly cherished in the subsequent periods of life, it would diminish our surprize at the extraordinary trans-

action which afterwards made so great a change in the fortune as well as the name of Mr. Brand.

Mr. Brand and Mr. Hollis returned to England in December, 1749. Mr. Brand went abroad again in the autumn of the following year, and did not revisit his native country till the summer of 1753. Mr. Hollis pursued nearly the same route, and about the same time; but *he no longer travelled in company with his friend*, though Dr. Disney says, that they corresponded with each other by letter, and occasionally met on the road.

After the return of Mr. Brand from his second tour, we are told that he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1756, of the Society of Antiquaries in 1757, and a member of the Academy of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, in 1759. He had previously become a governor of Guy's Hospital, as well as of St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark. During his residence in the country Mr. Brand paid considerable attention to the improvement of his mansion and his grounds. The former he embellished with some curious pieces of ancient art, and to the latter he appears to have communicated as much picturesque effect as the situation would admit.

Thomas Hollis, Esq. of Corscombe, in Dorsetshire, died in 1774, and left to his friend Mr. Brand all his real estate, and the residue of his personal estate, after deducting some pecuniary legacies. Of this Mr. Thomas Hollis, it is said, and we believe truly, that he was 'an Englishman, a lover of liberty, his country, and its original constitution, as most nobly confirmed at the glorious revolution.' We cannot bestow the same praise on the man to whom he bequeathed his fortune. Mr. Thomas Hollis is said to have been a Briton of such pure principles that he would not accept a seat in a certain assembly because he thought it contaminated by corruption; but Mr. Brand, in a very few months after the death of his friend and benefactor, had recourse to the most scandalous bribery in order to obtain a vote in parliament for the borough of Hindon. But the corruption which he practised was so notorious that his election was declared void; and on a prosecution at law in the county of Wilts, he was sentenced to pay a fine, and to suffer an imprisonment of six months in the King's Bench. Thus a considerable portion of the munificent bequest of that inflexible patriot, Thomas Hollis, was dissipated by his successor in a way that indicates a want of virtue and a contempt of liberty. It was indeed a transaction most disgraceful to Mr. Brand-Hollis, and most insulting to the memory of the upright patriot from whom he derived his property. The manner in which Dr.

Disney speaks of this affair is very reprehensible. He allows that Mr. Brand-Hollis had *violated the theoretical purity* of a parliamentary election ; but he attempts to find an excuse for his conduct in the supposed example of others who practise the same turpitude with impunity ; and he finally seems to think the censure which he experienced a reflection on the *consistency* of the House. But if the House be generally lenient in such instances, yet the severity of its proceedings in this seems to have been excited and to have been justified by the enormity of the case.

When Dr. Disney confesses with such courteous gentleness that Mr. Brand-Hollis violated the *theoretical purity* of the constitution, he seems to speak not merely as if he thought that a very venial offence which strikes at the very root of individual principle and of national independence, but as if he supposed that the species of public virtue which Mr. Brand-Hollis contemned, was only an airy abstraction, without the possibility of being embodied in the forms of palpable existence. But if there be such a thing as a true theory of political honesty, and if that theory be ratified in the laws of the British constitution, which positively forbids the practice of bribery at elections, then surely Dr. Disney will allow that Mr. Brand-Hollis was guilty of violating not only a philosophical theory of right, but a positive prohibition of wrong. The numerous examples of venality and corruption which may disgrace the benches of the House of Commons, ought not to have influenced the conduct of Mr. Brand-Hollis ; and much less ought they to have been exultingly produced by Dr. Disney in extenuation of his offence. For Mr. Brand-Hollis had a shining example of great public virtue before him in the life of Mr. Thomas Hollis, his generous benefactor. Not only the ordinary feeling of justice, but the heavenly sentiment of gratitude ought to have incited him to copy this bright pattern of political worth, rather than to rush with a multitude into the vortex of iniquity. But the heart of Thomas Hollis had not long ceased to beat, ere the man, whom he had loved as his friend, and for whom he had made an ample provision as if he had been his only child, despised both his precepts and his example, and resolved to obtain the dignity of a senator at every expense of public principle and of private gratitude. Will Dr. Disney any longer wonder why Mr. John Hollis, of High Wycombe, in whose bosom the principle of public virtue has hitherto been an unsullied gem, could not respect Mr. Brand ?

The contrast between the conduct and the principles of Mr. Thomas Hollis and of Mr. Brand-Hollis, is not a little remarkable. Mr. Thomas Hollis refused to obtain a seat in

parliament even by honest means, but it is clear that Mr. Brand-Hollis would have been happy to become a senator by any means. There was something like chivalrous chastity in the patriotic delicacy of the first, but the grossness of the most common prostitution is visible in the ambitious longings of the last.

Though we may ascribe the incorrupt probity of a patriot to Mr. Thomas Hollis, yet we can hardly think that his conduct was in unison with that duty which the kindred affections prescribe, or with that equity which arises out of the domestic relations, when he left the *whole mass* of his property with a few inconsiderable deductions, to one who was a stranger, and in preference to near and dear relatives, *from the industry of whose common ancestors the fortune which he possessed had been derived*. We respect the conduct and we esteem the sensibility of him who is kind-hearted, beneficent, and generous to his friends; but we never can think that that man deserves the name of amiable or of just who enriches strangers while he heeds not his relations. Had the property of Mr. Thomas Hollis been *acquired by his own industry*, his relatives would have had less reason to complain, if he had afterwards thrown it abroad upon the waters as caprice might suggest or generosity impel. But when we recollect that the property of Mr. Thomas Hollis was not his own personal acquisition, but a family bequest, the *larger part*, at least, instead of being lavished on an alien from the family, ought, in point not only of justice but of gratitude, to have been *restored to the descendants of the stock from which it came*. If Dr. Disney himself will dispassionately consider this case, as a question of abstract right or wrong, we are persuaded that his sense of rectitude will cause him to agree with us in thinking that Mr. Thomas Hollis did what was contrary to equity in leaving the bulk of his property to a stranger, *while he had near and dear relations living at the time*.

Mr. Brand-Hollis died September 11, 1804. As he had received the larger part of his property from a stranger he seems to have been determined to follow the example by giving it to a stranger at his death, instead of causing it to revert, as the hallowed sentiments of equity required, to the heirs of those from whom it came. Where an injury has been done, we have always thought that restitution ought to take place where the individual possesses the opportunity. In this instance, a signal injury had been done to the relations of Mr. Thomas Hollis, by the deprivation of that property to which they had an equitable claim. Mr. Brand-Hollis was the gentleman who was benefited by the injury, which was thus inflicted on the unoffending parties; and as

he also died without children we think that he ought, in conscience, at his death to have restored the property which he had enjoyed during his life *to those from whose well-founded expectations it had been snatched without a cause.*

Mr. John Hollis of High Wycombe is the surviving representative of the family, being the second in descent from John Hollis, by whose singular diligence and sagacity in trade the greater part of that fortune was acquired which came into the possession of Mr. Thomas Hollis, and which that gentleman afterwards without any adequate reason alienated to Mr. Brand. If therefore Mr. Brand-Hollis had paid due deference to the claims of equity in the distribution of his property, Mr. John Hollis is the person to whom he ought to have bequeathed the Dorsetshire estate. Mr. John Hollis might well express the feeling of disappointment when he found that Mr. Brand-Hollis had not even mentioned his name in his will. Mr. John Hollis indeed knew Mr. Brand too well to expect much either from the rigor of his justice, or the sensibility of his gratitude; but something he confesses that he did expect. He knew that some regard for decency, and some respect for the public opinion of what is right, will often operate in bosoms to which other considerations will be in vain addressed. If in this respect, Mr. John Hollis indulged a fallacious hope, it cannot be said that he cherished an unreasonable expectation. If it be said that Mr. John Hollis was not in circumstances of indigence, this did not extenuate the injustice of Mr. Brand. Is a man to withhold the payment of his debts because his creditor is rich? Or are the claims of equity to be superseded by the absence of want? Those who are best acquainted with Mr. John Hollis will, we believe, assent to the assertion that he was never exceeded by any of his family in integrity or benevolence: and that the tenderness of his heart was not likely to have been hardened even by the sunshine of affluence.

The manner in which Dr. Disney has spoken of Mr. John Hollis in p. 24, contains a mixture of sneer and jest, of impotent self-sufficiency on the one hand, and of petulant contempt on the other, which we think that the reverend biographer, however much he may indulge such feelings at the 'Hyde near Ingatestone,' had better have repressed in this sepulchral publication.

'Soon after the decease of Mr. Brand-Hollis,' says Dr. Disney, there appeared in some periodical publications a captious disposition to sully his memory. But both these attempts were open to refutation. One of them was apparently founded in a double disappointment; or else ordinary words and ordinary reasonings have

lost their meaning, and the doctrine of causes and consequences has no ground to rest upon. In proof of this remark, we will refer to a controversy in the Gentleman's Magazine, originating in an article from the pen of Mr. John Hollis; to whom a gentleman who had no personal knowledge either of Mr. Brand-Hollis or of Mr. John Hollis replied under the signature of 'Æacus', but whose real name was entirely unknown to me, till after he had volunteered in defence of the parties assailed. Although I took neither 'art nor part' as the Scots say, in that dispute, I could not help observing a very erroneous statement of the Hollis fortune, and not a very correct one of the respect which Mr. John Hollis 'was very certain that Mr. Brand-Hollis entertained for him.' At least, I well remember to have taken no small pains to remove some unfavourable impressions which I thought my friend entertained of that worthy gentleman. In the same ill advised letter before referred to, Mr. John Hollis goes on to say, 'he wishes he could return the compliment' that is have respected Mr. Brand Hollis. I pretend not to account for the expressions of other persons, or for their occasional inconsistency; but I well recollect to have seen a copy of Mr. John Hollis's 'Reasons for Scepticism,' which he had presented to Mr. Brand-Hollis, in which was written, as is not, indeed, unusual in such cases, 'from the Author, with his respectful compliments.' It was August 7, 1799.'

As Mr. John Hollis had manifested no disposition to continue the controversy which was begun in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1804-5, we do not see why it should have been revived by Dr. Disney by the republication of the correspondence, nor why he should have gone out of his way to insult Mr. John Hollis, by the offensive manner, the affected complaisance, and the real ill-will, which it requires but little sagacity to detect in the passage which we have quoted above.

We make no remarks on the *pains* which Dr. Disney took to remove the prejudices which, he says, that Mr. Brand-Hollis entertained respecting 'that worthy gentleman;' for we dare say that they were very great though certainly not very successful. But we cannot help noticing the curious argument which the doctor employs to prove Mr. John Hollis guilty of inconsistency. When Dr. Disney writes to Mr. John Hollis, or to any other gentleman for whom he entertains no very great deference, and signs himself his 'humble servant,' would he think it right to have those expressions quoted as a proof that he is deficient in consistency and truth? Are the common formulæ of compliment to be considered as the touchstone of hypocrisy? But we have done with this subject. We heartily wish Dr. Disney health of body and peace of mind to enjoy the fortune which Mr. Brand-Hollis bestowed, but we wish him to do it without

any farther attempt to lacerate the feelings of a most respectable and benevolent individual.

The only part of the present performance which is likely much to interest the general reader is contained in some letters which were written to Mr. Brand-Hollis by Mr. John Adams, who was afterwards president of the government of the United States. From these letters we shall make some extracts, which we are the more inclined to do as the work is not likely to experience an extensive circulation. Mr. and Mrs. Adams paid a visit to Mr. Brand-Hollis in the summer of 1786 and 1787; and Mr. A. appears to have felt, or at least to have professed, a considerable degree of respect for his host.

In a letter which was written to Mr. Brand-Hollis from Portsmouth in April, 1783, we find the following observations:

‘ It is easier to make a people discontented with a bad government than to teach them how to establish and maintain a good one. Liberty can never be created and preserved without a people; and by a people I mean a common people, in contradistinction from the gentlemen; and a people can never be created and preserved without an executive authority in one hand, separated entirely from the body of the gentlemen. The two ladies, Aristocrata and Democratia, will eternally pull caps till one or other is mistress. If the first is the conqueress, she never fails to depress and debase her rival into the most deplorable servitude. If the last conquers, she eternally surrenders herself into the arms of a ravisher. Kings, therefore, are the natural allies of the common people, and the prejudices against them are by no means favourable to liberty. Kings and the common people have both a common enemy in the gentlemen, and they must unite in some degree or other against them, or both will be destroyed; the one dethroned, and the other enslaved. The common people too are unable to defend themselves against their own ally, the king, without another ally in the gentlemen. It is therefore indispensably necessary that the gentlemen in a body, or by representatives, should be an independent and essential branch of the constitution. By a king I mean a single person possessed of the whole executive power. You have often said to me, that it is difficult to preserve the balance. This is true. It is difficult to preserve liberty. But there can be no liberty without some balance; and it is certainly easier to preserve a balance of three branches than of two. If the people cannot preserve a balance of three branches, how is it possible for them to preserve one of two only? If the people of England find it difficult to preserve their balance at present, how would they do if they had the election of a king, and an house of lords to make, once a year, or once in seven years, as well as of an house of commons? It seems evident, at first blush, that periodical elections of the king and peers of England, in addition to the commons, would produce agitations that must

destroy all order and safety as well as liberty. The gentlemen too, can never defend themselves against a brave and united common people, but by an alliance with a king; nor against a king without an alliance with the common people. It is the insatiability of human passions that is the foundation of all government. Men are not only ambitious, but their ambition is unbounded: they are not only avaricious, but their avarice is insatiable. The desires of kings, gentlemen, and common people,—all increase, instead of being satisfied by indulgence. This fact being allowed, it will follow that it is necessary to place checks upon them all.'

In a letter from New York, in June, 1790, Mr. A. says,

'The great and perpetual distinction in civilized societies has been between the rich, who are few, and the poor, who are many. When the many are masters, they are too unruly, and then the few are too tame, and afraid to speak out the truth. When the few are masters, they are too severe, and then the many are too servile. This is the strict truth. The few have had most art and union, and therefore have generally prevailed in the end. The inference of wisdom from these premises is, that neither the poor nor the rich should ever be suffered to be masters. They should have equal power to defend themselves; and that their power may be always equal, there should be an independent mediator between them, always ready, always able, and always interested to assist the weakest. Equal laws can never be made or maintained without this balance.'

The engravings of this work appear to be well executed; but we cannot bestow much praise on the paper or the print. The paper of the copy which is lying on our table, is a sort of oily-white, or whitish-brown. We suppose that Dr. Disney intended this book as a literary tribute to the memory of his friend; and it would have given us pleasure if we could have bestowed on it the praise of ability or elegance. But our respect for individuals must give way to our love of truth, and to the honest impartiality of criticism.

ART. VIII.—*Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the American Army, through the Revolutionary War and First President of the United States. By Aaron Bancroft, A.A.S. Pastor of a Congregational Church in Worcester. pp. 560. 8vo. Stockdale. 1808.*

MR. Bancroft says that, in the composition of this life of the great founder of the freedom of the United States, he

'has made Judge Marshall his leading authority for facts, and has in some measure followed him in the order of events. The histories

of the war by Doctors Ramsay and Gordon, and several original writings, have been consulted; but he trusts that greater liberty has not been taken with any of them than is fair and honourable. The few facts which have not before been published, were received immediately from confidential friends of General Washington, or from gentlemen, who, in respectable official situations, were members of his family during his military command.*

General Washington exhibits such a rare instance of ambition, restrained within the bounds of virtue and of patriotism, that we are glad to seize every fresh opportunity which occurs, to narrate the actions of his life, and to propose his character as a singular pattern of military enterprise united with philosophic moderation.

The great grandfather of General Washington had migrated from the north of England; to Westmoreland in Virginia in 1657, when he purchased the estate on which George Washington was born, in 1732. His father died when he was ten years of age; but his mother appears to have taken care that his education should experience no neglect. He was not instructed in the learned languages; but in mathematics, geography, and history. During several years of his minority he is said to have been employed as a county-surveyor, in which office he was conspicuous for his diligence, and for the accuracy of his plans. The knowledge which he acquired in his occupation, was turned to account in his future life. His genius early discovered a military bias; and in the war, which was kindled between France and England in 1747, it was only the affectionate apprehensions of his mother which prevented him from serving as a midshipman in the British navy. At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of Virginia, with the rank of major. In 1753, he was sent on a mission to warn the French against the further prosecution of a plan which they had formed of uniting Canada with Louisiana by a chain of posts. Mr. Washington commenced his journey from Williamsbourg, and had to pass through an unexplored wilderness occupied by tribes of Indians, who were ill-disposed to the English interest. After various obstacles he arrived at the French posts, and delivered his letters to Monsieur le Gardeur de St. Pierre, the commanding officer on the Ohio. On his return an ambuscade was prepared for his destruction by a party of French Indians.

* One of them not fifteen steps distant, fired, but without effect. This Indian the Major took into custody, and kept him until nine o'clock, then let him go, and walked himself all the remaining part of the night, without making any stop, that he might be out of

reach of pursuit next day, supposing that the party would then follow his track. The second day he reached the river two miles above the Shannapis, expecting to find it frozen over; but the ice extended only fifty yards from the shore; though quantities of it were driving in the chammel. A raft was their only means of passing, and they had but one poor hatchet with which to make it. It cost them a hard day's work to form the raft; the next day they launched it, went on board, and attempted the passage; but before they were half way over they were inclosed by masses of ice, and threatened with immediate destruction. Mr. Washington put down his setting pole to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, but the rapidity of the current threw the ice with such force against the pole, that it jerked him out in ten feet water. But fortunately he saved himself by seizing one of the raft logs. With their utmost efforts they were unable to reach either shore, but with difficulty they landed on an island. The cold was so severe that Mr. Gist, the pilot, had his hands and feet frozen. The next morning, without hazard, they passed the river on the ice, and were received into the lodgings of Mr. Frazier, an Indian trader. Here Major Washington took a horse, and on the 16th January, 1754, reached Williamsburg, and made report of his proceedings.

Soon after this, Mr. Washington had the command of some provincial troops, who distinguished themselves in their rencontres with the French; but a regulation being published in America, that general and field officers of provincial troops should have no rank, when serving with general and field officers commissioned by the crown, Colonel Washington resigned his commission in disgust. But in 1755, he accepted an invitation of General Braddock, who was preparing an expedition to the Ohio, to join his army as his volunteer aid-de-Camp. General Braddock who neglected the precautions which were recommended by Washington, fell into an ambuscade within seven miles of Fort du Quesne. He was suddenly attacked by a party of French and Indians. Braddock received a mortal wound; Washington had two horses shot under him, and four balls through his coat. The frontiers of Virginia were now left open to the invasion of the enemy. The assembly of the province determined to raise a regiment of sixteen companies of which they appointed Washington colonel. He was now placed in circumstances which were very favourable to the formation of a general in a revolutionary war. He had to defend a frontier of three hundred and sixty miles with an incompetent force; and his vigilance, his penetration, and his caution, were constantly exercised in preventing the sudden and rapid inroads, and in guarding against the treachery of the foe whom he had to oppose. He had

at the same time, to encourage the patience and the fortitude of individuals under the ravages to which they were liable from the subtle machinations and desolating ferocity of the enemy. He had to combat the selfishness and the fears of the inhabitants, and, at the same time, to repress the insubordination of his own troops, for the support of which, the province had neither provided money nor magazines. The presence of these difficulties assisted in maturing those virtues and qualifications which were afterwards so conspicuously displayed in the revolutionary war. His motives were traduced, his plans misrepresented, secret calumnies were circulated against him, and his attempts to promote the public good were frustrated by malice, or by ignorance. The letters which he wrote at this period, vividly depict the state of his mind and the difficulties of his situation. In a dispatch to governor Dinwiddie he thus describes the distresses of the province, which he had no resources to alleviate, and the uneasiness and mortification to which he was exposed.

‘I know their danger, and participate their sufferings; without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants, now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflected on me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kind, and the distant prospect if any, of gaining reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here.

‘The supplicating tears of the women, and the moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would conduce to the people’s ease.’

‘Whence it arises, or why, I am ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish: and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country, perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful and uncertain. To-day approved, to-morrow con-

demned ; left to act and proceed at hazard ; accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence. If you can think my situation capable of exciting the smallest degree of envy, or of affording the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hid from you, and you entertain notions very different from the reality of the case. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments sometime longer, in the hope of better regulations under Lord Loudon, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia.'

'That I have foibles, and perhaps many, I shall not deny. I should esteem myself, as the world also would, vain and empty, were I to arrogate perfection.

'Knowledge in military matters is to be acquired by practice and experience only, and if I have erred, great allowance should be made for my errors for want of them, unless those errors should appear to be wilful ; and then I conceive it would be more generous to charge me with my faults, and let me stand or fall according to evidence, than to stigmatize me behind my back.'

In September 2, 1758, in a letter from Cumberland, he thus expresses his gloomy views and his bitter disappointment.

'We are still encamped here very sickly and dispirited at the fatal prospect before us. That appearance of glory which we once had in view, even that hope, that laudable ambition of serving our country and meriting its applause, are now no more ; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception ; and, being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging of things from appearance or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions, will prattle and talk away ; and why may not I ? We seem then, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something—I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue.'

We have been the more particular in detailing the circumstances in which General Washington was placed at this early period, and the impediments, mortifications, and disgusts, which he had to encounter, in order the better to show how that singularly heroic, patient, cautious, and serene moral temperament had been formed, which shone so resplendent amid the ferment of the revolutionary contest, when from the greater passions which were excited, the greater interests which were endangered, and the more accu-

mulated distress which was experienced, he had greater difficulties to overcome, more imperious necessities to vanquish, stronger jealousies to appease, and more signal mortification to endure. The ultimate triumph of America was owing to that admirable peculiarity of his temperament, which could regulate not only his own passions but calm the impetuous and otherwise ungovernable emotions of the people.

In 1758, Fort du Quesne was abandoned by the French, and the name was changed to that of Fort Pitt, in compliment to the great statesman who now directed the affairs of this country. Colonel Washington saw his country relieved from the carnage and distress of an Indian war, an object which had occupied his attention and excited his exertions for several years. He now resigned his military commission, and retired to that domestic scene which his disposition and his virtues so well fitted him to enjoy.

In 1759, he married Mrs. Martha Curtis, with whom he lived on the happiest terms.

On his estate of Mount Vernon, he extensively engaged in the business of agriculture, and was greatly distinguished for the judgment he displayed in the improvement of his lands. Every branch of business was conducted upon system, exact method and economy were observed throughout every department of his household; the accounts of his overseers he weekly inspected, the divisions of his farm were numbered, the expense of cultivation, and the produce of each lot were regularly registered; and, at one view, he could determine the profit or loss of any crop, and ascertain the respective advantages of particular modes of husbandry. He became one of the greatest landholders in North America. Besides other great and valuable tracts, his Mount Vernon estate consisted of nine thousand acres, all under his own management. On which, in one year, he raised seven thousand bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of Indian corn. His domestic and farming establishments were composed of nearly a thousand persons; and the woollen and linen cloth necessary for their use, was chiefly manufactured on the estate.

From the conclusion of the war on the frontiers of Virginia to the commencement of the revolutionary contest, Colonel Washington represented his district in the house of burgesses of his province. He took an active part in opposition to the right which the British parliament had assumed to tax the provinces; and was elected a member of the first congress which met in Philadelphia in 1774. In 1775 congress unanimously appointed him commander in chief of the American forces.

At the commencement of the war, the country was, in a great
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degree, destitute of ammunition, and of every material necessary to clothe an army, and furnish the men with tents. There were no considerable magazines of provisions, and few tools suitable for the work of fortification. The men who composed the army were raised by different states, on short enlistments, and on different establishments; and they carried into the camp, the feelings and habits formed by their respective pursuits in private life. They were animated by the love of liberty, and possessed the resolution and bravery of hardy yeomanry; but they could not easily be brought to submit to the rigid rules of military subordination and discipline. The authority of congress and of different colonies, was blended in all the arrangements of the army. These causes occasioned numerous and complicated embarrassments to the commander in chief.

The American army was at first composed chiefly of militia or of troops enlisted only for a short period. They were in a great degree destitute of arms and clothing, and endured innumerable privations. When Washington first assumed the command, the British troops were commanded by General Gage, who was posted in the vicinity of Boston, and who suffered many favourable opportunities of destroying the American army to escape. Gage was succeeded by General Howe, whose happy imbecility in conducting the war is well known.

In 1776 General Washington in a letter to congress thus describes the state of his army, which had just experienced a defeat in Long Island.

‘The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off—in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable. But when their example has infected another part of the army; when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct, but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of, our condition is still more alarming; and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.’

‘On every side there is a choice of difficulties; and every measure, on our part (however painful the reflection be from experience) to be formed with some apprehension that all our troops will not do their duty. In deliberating on this great question, it was impossible to forget, that history, our own experience, the advice of our

ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy, and even the declarations of Congress demonstrate that on our side, the war should be defensive—(it has ever been called a war of posts,)—that we should on all occasions avoid a general action, nor put any thing to the risk, unless compelled by a necessity into which we ought never to be drawn.’

On September 14, 1776, the American lines near New York, were abandoned to the British by the pusillanimity of the troops who were appointed to defend them. The panic was communicated to two brigades who were detached from the main body to support the troops in the breast-works. General Washington came up with his troops, who were retreating with the utmost precipitation, without paying any attention to the remonstrances of their officers.

‘While the commander in chief was, with some effect exerting himself to rally them, a very small body of the enemy appeared in sight, on which the men again broke, and a most dastardly route ensued. At this unfortunate moment, and only at this moment through his whole life, General Washington appears to have lost his fortitude. All the shameful and disastrous consequences of the defection of his army, rushed upon his mind, and bore down his spirits. In a paroxysm of despair, he turned his horse towards the enemy, seemingly with the intention to avoid the disgrace of the day by the sacrifice of his life: his aids seized the horse’s bridle, and with friendly violence, rescued him from the destruction that awaited him.’

The following reflections which we extract from a letter which Washington wrote at this time to Congress, in order to induce them to put the army, whose term of service was about to expire, on a permanent footing, appear to be the result of sober observation and agreeable to general experience :

‘When men are irritated,’ says he, ‘and their passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over, to expect among such people as compose the bulk of an army, that they are influenced by any other principles than those of interest, is to look for what never did, and I fear never will happen; the congress will deceive themselves, therefore, if they expect it.

‘A soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations: but adds, that it is of no more consequence to him than to others. The officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member in the community is equally benefited and interested by his labours. The few, therefore, who act upon principles of disinterestedness, are comparatively speaking, no more than a drop in the ocean.

Towards the close of the year 1776, the American army was reduced in numbers, depressed by defeat, and exhausted by fatigue, naked, barefoot, destitute of tents and even of utensils with which to dress their scanty provisions. The army of the enemy on the contrary was well appointed and abundantly supplied. But in the more critical exigencies of the revolutionary war the genius of Washington was ever conspicuously displayed in accommodating his measures to his situation, and in extracting good out of evil. The following words of Washington, in his letter to General Schuyler, are no bad representation of the philosophic serenity of his own mind; and the admonitions which they include were forcibly recommended by his own practice in the most trying circumstances.

‘ We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, and has changed for the better, so I trust it will again; if new difficulties arise, we must put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times.’

Washington seems confidently to have anticipated, and in a considerable degree to have foreseen the fate that befel Burgoyne.

‘ I trust General Burgoyne’s army,’ says he, ‘ will sooner or later experience an effectual check; and as, I suggested before, that the success he had will precipitate his ruin.—He appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which of all others, is most favourable to us, I mean acting by detachments. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprize on our part and expose his parties to great hazard.’

In 1777, the conduct of General Washington was the subject of great obloquy and misrepresentation, and a party was formed to supplant him and to raise General Gates to the supreme command of the American armies. General Gates himself appears to have been privy to these intrigues; which were however finally frustrated by the firmness and moderation of Washington, as well as the imbecility and precipitation of his enemies. The army which he commanded was at this time almost totally destitute of every necessary; and it required all the vigilance and address of the commander to prevent their mutiny or dispersion. Few of the soldiers, as Washington himself said, had more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some, none at all. Numbers were confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmer’s houses on the same account. No less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men out of his small force were confined in camp unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and

otherwise naked. Notwithstanding the privations and sufferings of his troops Washington was severely blamed because he did not perform impossibilities, and beat the enemy without adequate means.

‘ I can assure those gentlemen,’ says Washington, alluding to his calumniators, ‘ that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fire side, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost or snow without clothes or blankets.’

‘ General Washington addressed letters to the executives of the New England states, painting in glowing colours, the condition of the army, and urging these constituted authorities, by every motive of patriotism and honour, to forward provisions to his camp. These applications were ultimately successful; but before relief in this way could be afforded, the scarcity was so great, as to threaten the total destruction of the army. The soldiers were at times without meat, for two, three, and in one instance, for five days.’

But such is the force of patriotism, or of the spirit of liberty in a revolutionary struggle, that very few desertions of the native Americans took place even in these trying circumstances. Had Sir William Howe made a determined attack on the American camp at this period, the most disastrous consequences to the cause of the republicans would have ensued.

In 1779, great dissensions prevailed in Congress. The depreciation of the paper money had given rise to a tribe of speculators who fattened on the public misery, and the public good was impeded by the selfishness of individuals. A letter which Washington wrote at this period to a confidential friend, while it shows his sagacity and patriotism, supplies no inaccurate delineation of the interested passions which are often even more agitated in a revolutionary struggle than in any other period.

‘ I am particularly desirous of a free communication of sentiments with you at this time, because, I view things very differently, I fear, from what people in general do, who seem to think the contest at an end, and that to make money, and get places, are the only things now remaining to be done. I have seen without despondency, even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones; but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such imminent danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising, at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politic

will exert themselves to bring things back to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger until within these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy how effectually we labour for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter, as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators, various tribes of money-makers, and stock-jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument, without considering that the avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in a common ruin.'

The depreciation of the paper currency had reduced the pay of the troops to hardly any thing beyond a nominal subsistence; which caused the greatest dissatisfaction, and the officers of one of the regiments of the Jersey brigades addressed a remonstrance to the legislature of the state, threatening to resign their commissions within three days if their grievances were not redressed. This placed the commander in chief in a very delicate situation. To exert his authority, or to abstain from that exertion might be equally injurious to the public service or to the interests of the army. He adopted the safest, and as the event proved the most effectual, method, of private and friendly exhortation. In a letter addressed to General Maxwell to induce the dissatisfied officers to desist from the rash measures which they had begun,

'Nothing,' said Washington, 'which has happened in the course of the war has given me so much pain as the remonstrance from the officers of the first Jersey regiment. I cannot but consider it as a hasty and imprudent step, which, on more cool consideration, they will themselves condemn.'

The coolness and discretion which Washington manifested on this and on many similar occasions, when the passions of individuals were on the point of taking a direction opposite the public interest, show how eminently he was qualified to conduct the vessel of the state through the revolutionary storm to the haven of freedom and of peace.

The following letter from General Washington to his friend General Schuyler will show the state of the American army on the commencement of 1779; and will serve of itself as an admirable eulogy on the conduct of the com-

mander in chief, who amid such arduous circumstances could preserve his own authority, and finally establish the triumph of his country.

‘ Since the date of my last, we have had the virtue and patience of the army put to the severest trial. Sometimes it has been five or six days together without bread ; at other times, as many days without meat ; and once or twice, two or three days, without either. I hardly thought it possible at one period, that we should be able to keep it together, nor could it have been done, but for the exertions of the magistrates in the several counties of this state, on whom I was obliged to call, expose our situation to them, and in plain terms declare that we were reduced to the alternative of disbanding or catering for ourselves, unless the inhabitants would afford us their aid. I allotted to each county a certain proportion of flour or grain, and a certain number of cattle, to be delivered on certain days, and for the honour of the magistrates, and good disposition of the people, I must add, that my requisitions were punctually complied with, and in many counties exceeded. Nothing but this great exertion could have saved the army from dissolution or starving, as we were bereft of every hope from the commissaries. At one time, the soldiers eat every kind of horse food but hay. Buck wheat, common wheat, rye, and Indian corn composed the meal which made their bread. As an army they bore it with the most heroic patience ; but sufferings like these, accompanied with the want of clothes, blankets, &c. will produce frequent desertion in all armies, and so it happened with us, though it did not excite a single mutiny.’

In 1780 a considerable French force under Count de Rochambeau was sent to the assistance of the Americans, but the wretched state of the republican army prevented, for a time, any effectual co-operation with their new allies. The orders of congress were very little regarded by the thirteen provinces, who exercised a sort of independent sovereignty, and paid no farther obedience to the central government than seemed to suit their convenience or was agreeable to their inclinations. No plan had yet been adopted for placing the army on a permanent footing ; the soldiers were enlisted only for a short period, and the majority who returned home were obliged to be replaced by new levies at the end of the year. ‘ I hoped,’ says Washington in the year 1780, ‘ but I hoped in vain that a prospect was opening which would enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life.’ ‘ But alas ! these prospects flattering as they were have proved delusory.’

The treachery of Arnold was fortunately detected or it would probably have proved fatal to the cause of American independence. When André was taken prisoner,

'Arnold had the presumption to write a threatening letter to General Washington on the subject. The general deigned not to answer his letter, but he conveyed to him his wife and his baggage. The merits and the fate of André gave a darker shade to the baseness and treachery of Arnold, and he became an object of public detestation and abhorrence. "André," observed General Washington in a letter to a friend, "has met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and gallant officer; but I am mistaken if at this time Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling: from some traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hackneyed in crime, so lost to all sense of honour and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse.'

Arnold was the only American officer who, during the war, deserted his banners, and turned his sword against his country.

In 1780, congress, instructed by experience and incited by the repeated remonstrances of the commander in chief, came to the determination of adopting a permanent military establishment. But notwithstanding this the state of the army was one of aggravated wretchedness in the winter of 1781. They were almost destitute of clothing and provisions, and they had remained almost a year without pay.

'Without murmuring,' says the author, 'they long endured their accumulated distresses. But the fortitude of the firmest men may be worn down. Disheartened by their sufferings, despairing of relief, and dissatisfied, that their country did not make more effectual exertions for their support, the spirit of mutiny broke out with alarming appearances.

'The Pennsylvania line stationed at Morristown, with the exception of three regiments revolted. On a concerted signal, the non-commissioned officers and privates turned out with their arms, and announced the design of marching to the seat of congress, there to demand a redress of their intolerable grievances. The mutiny defied opposition. In the attempt to quell it, one officer was killed, and several dangerously wounded. General Wayne, in a threatening attitude, drew his pistol, the mutineers presented their bayonets to his breast and said, "General, we love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy, on the contrary if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will no longer be amused, we are determined on obtaining what is our just due."

(To be continued in our next.)

ART. IX.—*Remarks on the Frequency and Fatality of different Diseases, particularly on the progressive Increase of Consumption: with Observations on the Influence of the Seasons on Mortality.* By William Woolcombe, M. D. 8vo. Longman. 1808.

IS it a fact, that consumption, which is deemed the scourge of the British isles, is progressively on the increase? This has been strongly insisted upon by Dr. Heberden in his work on the increase and decrease of diseases, founded upon observations taken principally from the London bills of mortality. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the total annual mortality being estimated at 21,000, Dr. Heberden has stated the deaths from consumption at 3000, or in the proportion of 1 to 7; in the middle of the century at 4,000, or as 1 to 5.25; and at the end at 5,000, or as 1 to 42.

Dr. Woolcombe remarks that two objections occur to the increase of the relative mortality, as a measure of the real increase of consumptive mortality.

First it may be said, that the increase of consumption within the bills of mortality is no proof of its general increase in the kingdom at large; since this may be attributed to the operation of local causes; and, secondly, it may be stated, that an increase in the proportion of mortality from one disease to the whole mortality, is no proof of its absolute increase; since the apparent augmentations in the former may have arisen from a real reduction of the latter.

To the first of these objections Dr. W. answers that there are no obvious changes which have taken place in the circumstances of the metropolis, to which this increase can be attributed; it is therefore probable that the variation of proportion which is found to take place in London, may be applied as a measure of increase and decrease to the whole kingdom. The local improvement in the metropolis has probably contributed largely to its general salubrity, and it seems improbable, at first view at least, that this circumstance should occasion an increase of mortality from one disease, and a diminution from all others. Dr. Woolcombe cites the register kept at Holycross and at Ackworth, in confirmation of the evidence of London bills of mortality. In the first the mortality from consumption was nearly doubled in the space of ten years in a small parish, where both the population and the general mortality was nearly invariable. At Ackworth there was an increase of one-eighth in ten years. But we think that in these observations,

the scale of observation was too confined to authorise any general conclusions. In calculations of this nature either very large numbers should be made use of, or if the registers of small parishes be referred to, at least it is requisite to establish an uniformity in a great variety of examples.

But, secondly, is not the increase of consumptive mortality merely apparent, arising from a decrease in the general mortality? This is certainly possible. Let us assume that at the end of the eighteenth century the average mortality amounted to 1 in 40. It may be made to appear from an easy arithmetical calculation, that if we suppose there to have been no absolute increase of consumption, the general mortality in 1700 would have been 1 in 27 nearly.

'It is obvious,' observes Dr. W. 'that no such proportions of deaths as has been stated in these two instances, could have happened without such a corresponding augmentation in the population of the country, as is known not to have occurred, and is altogether extravagant to suppose.'

The following statement gives a frightful account of the ravages of this disease :

'From an examination of two parts of the sixth table it appears, that during the last half century the proportion of consumption to general mortality has been as 1 to 4.2. But as the consumptive mortality may be comparatively less in the country than in town, from which the grounds of the calculation have been chiefly derived, to avoid exaggerations let the proportion for the kingdom at large be stated to be as 1 to 5. If this be admitted as just, and if it be granted that the annual mortality is to the population as 1 to 40; while it is ascertained that the inhabitants of Great Britain amount to eleven millions, it will be found that the *annual victims to consumption in this island* are not less than *fifty-five thousand persons*.'

'It is a matter of some importance to ascertain how far the southern parts of this island are exempted from the disease. On this head Dr. Woolcombe, who is resident at Plymouth, is competent to give very satisfactory testimony. To his work he has prefixed a table of the cases treated at the Plymouth public dispensary for seven years nearly. It appears that at this place the proportion of consumptive mortality is to the whole as 1 to 4.28. The phthisical mortality at Plymouth, it is said, has been of late years nearly one fourth less than in London and less by nearly one half than in Bristol. This last fact is, if true, very extraordinary. But may there not be an error in the construction of the tables? Dr. W. uses his own, in which we presume that he was very

careful to limit the term to genuine cases of *phthisis pulmonalis*. Had he consulted only parish registers, in which it must be presumed that most cases attended with great emaciation are denominated consumption, probably the difference would have been much less.

The evidence then in favour of the southern part of our island is very feeble. Nor do we believe that in fact any change of climate has the power of stopping the ravages of this insidious and cruel foe. But we cannot blame physicians for recommending the trial. Patients under the sufferings of a chronic and intractable disorder are restless; and their friends still more so. We are persuaded also that by removing to a comparatively mild atmosphere the disease is attended with less suffering, particularly from chills and fever. We once remarked this very strongly in the case of a lady, who lived the last months of her life in a cow-house. The disease went on uniformly to its fatal termination, as in other cases. But she almost entirely avoided rigour, and fever fits; and the uniform, tepid, and bland atmosphere was singularly agreeable and soothing.

On the causes of the increase of consumption Dr. W. does not offer a conjecture. If it be true (as indeed it seems probable) that at the same time the proportion of deaths to the whole population is diminished, or in other words that the country is become on the whole more healthy, we have little hesitation in asserting that the two phenomena are connected together as cause and effect. This may at first sight seem paradoxical. But let us suppose for a moment small-pox and all the contagious fevers, which cut off annually such multitudes absolutely annihilated. There would necessarily remain more victims of chronic diseases, the most common of which is pulmonary consumption. To determine the question, the first step is to ascertain to what is owing the improvement of the healthiness of the country. It is probably not the effect of any single cause. The improvement of agriculture, and the cleansing and widening of cities may have had much influence. We suspect too that the extended cultivation and universal use of potatoes has been very sensibly felt. We will not so far contradict the common opinion as to assert that vegetable food imparts as much strength as animal, though we suspect that this, like many other popular opinions is founded partly on prejudice, but it cannot be doubted, that those who are supported principally upon vegetables are less liable to fevers, and that fevers in such subjects are less fatal.

Dr. W. at p. 91, asserts that fevers are excluded from the London hospitals. In this he is mistaken. We believe most

of the London hospitals exclude small-pox; there being a small-pox-hospital. But we do not know that any other fever is excluded from any of them.

Consumption is commonly reckoned to be much confined to the earlier periods of life, from the numerous instances of this kind which real life daily presents, and which fiction continually employs to heighten the scenes of imaginary distress, we are led to confine its influence to an earlier and shorter period than that to which it is in reality extended. To correct this prejudice Dr. Woolcombe observes,

‘From statements of Dr. Haygarth and Dr. Aikin it appears, that one half of those who died of consumption in two years at Chester had passed their thirtieth year; and at Warrington three eighths had passed their forty-fifth year. At our dispensary, the number of those who have died beyond thirty exceeds the number of those who died before the attainment of that age in the proportion of two to one. The period between thirty and forty seems to be most fatal; the deaths within this term being equal to all these, and rather greater than those happening after forty.’

From the consideration of the increasing ravages of consumption, Dr. W. turns his view to the salubrity of the different parts of the year as measured by the mortality which prevails in the different seasons. He has collected several tables illustrative of this subject; and has brought the whole evidence into one point in the following table comprising the aggregate numbers of all the others.

Summer	June	45176	132298	278871	603048
	July	42325			
	August	44797			
Autumn	September	47579	146573		
	October	49489			
	November	49505			
Winter	December	53040	162957		
	January	56166			
	February	53751			
Spring	March	56340	161220	324177	
	April	53898			
	May	51482			

‘From this table, thus comprehensively formed, it appears, that the mortality is greatest in winter; but little less in spring; considerably diminished in autumn; and in summer much further reduced. The difference between the mortality in summer and winter is nearly as four to five; and if the summer and autumn period be contrasted with the winter and vernal portion of the year, it will be as six to seven. Retaining this table as a standard of comparison, in examining the other tables, from which it is formed, a generally prevailing correspondence will of course be

expected. Some variations in degree will, however, be found, and some deviations from the general course. The difference between the winter and summer half year is less in the London table than in any of the others, and greatest in Warrington, Chester, and the country parishes in Devonshire. May it hence be inferred, that, where the relative general mortality is bad, the proportion between the mortality in summer and winter will be greatest? For example, in the district in Devonshire confined to the three towns, the annual mortality is one in twenty-five,* in the district comprising three adjacent country parishes, it is one in forty-five: in the former, the deaths in the summer half year are to those in the winter, as six to seven, in the latter as five to seven. Or, is the difference of proportion in London to be ascribed to this circumstance, that the metropolis has less than the usual proportion of persons of advanced age, whose deaths happen most frequently in winter, owing to the retirement of many towards the close of life, and the increased proportion of people of middle age derived from the perpetual recruits, which the population is receiving from persons of that description.

The deviations from the general inferences are chiefly to be found in the eleventh table. In the country parishes, from the registers of which it is formed, the mortality is greatest in spring, and is particularly excessive in the months of April and May. As in winter it is comparatively less, so in autumn it is rather greater. May it from these facts be induced, that life is more directly subjected to the influence of weather in the country than in towns; and that the diseases of spring and autumn, particularly of the former, are those to which the inhabitants are most obnoxious? If the limited extent of the table forbid the confident adoption of these conclusions, to future observations must be left their establishment or refutation.

In London the mortality in the winter half of the year, is to the mortality in the summer half, as nine to eight. If on this account an exception be taken to the ratio of absolute mortality deduced from the table we have inserted, an approximation to a fair general average may be obtained, by stating the deaths in the winter half to exceed those in the summer half by one fifth of the whole. But if the London tables be included in the account, Dr. Woolcombe has apportioned the mortality in the different seasons on the following scale; in which it is assumed, on grounds which have been previously stated, that the whole annual mortality of Great Britain amounts to 275,000.

* Perhaps the annual mortality is in this instance stated too high; the grounds upon which it is so stated, are mentioned in page 151 *note*. For the purpose, however, for which the statement is here made, it is sufficient that the mortality be admitted to be greater in large towns, than in the country which is undeniable.

Mortality in Summer 60,400	Spring 73,650
Autumn 66,800	Winter 74,150

Of the separate months February appears the most abundant in deaths, making due allowance for its shortness. June, which is classed in the most healthy season, yields in many instances in salubrity to some of the autumnal and even winter months.

Some other instructive matter relating to statistical medicines, and appropriate tables, will be found in this work. Upon the whole it cannot be said that Dr. Woolcombe has brought to light any new facts. He has contented himself with confirming the principal deductions of his predecessor in the same field of inquiry, Dr. Heberden. But in performing the task he had undertaken, he has employed much industry; and we have perceived with pleasure, on more occasions than one, a spirit of candour and attachment to the truth, which is equally creditable to his understanding and his integrity.

ART. X.—*The Bachelor: a Novel, in 3 Volumes. By Thomas George Moore, Esq. 12mo. Colburn.*

LADIES! if it can afford you the slightest satisfaction to find the most extravagant and thoughtless wish of an idle moment realized by an obsequious lover, attach yourselves to none but the most decided enemies of matrimony! Where can you find a soft sighing Mandlebert or Orville, who will perform for you an act of gallantry half so sublimely delicate as that with which Lord Wisely, president of the club of bachelors, surprised his Adriana? Who, when at the pretty age of fifteen she uttered the infantine wish, "Oh, that I were as rich as the handsome Duchess of Devonshire,—then would I have an apartment fitted up as if for the abode of a sylph," the stern misogynist, who overheard her, treasured up the expression as if it had been the saying of one of the Grecian wise men, and, eleven years afterwards, introduced her to a "*mysterious apartment*," which he had expressly fitted up for his own amusement, in which

'the objects that presented themselves to her view were the following:

'A grove lighted from above, encircling an enclosure of rose-trees, trained upon espaliers, with pillars of poppies interspersed. Two trunks of aged willows in bronze supported two gold rings, by which was suspended a hammock of white gold tissue. Further on an alcove, the window of which looked into the park, the same that lady Mary had seen with the blind open. Madame d'Azemar had no sooner set her foot within this alcove, than she saw what? a wax

image of herself sleeping upon a sofa. "Ah! how ugly she is!" she exclaimed, "spare her," replied Lord Wiseley: it is to her that I have been indebted for the illusion which you realize. I have here accomplished only one of your wishes. Live then with me to form more, and to see them always accomplished, *if they do not extend beyond the bounds of my fortune and my life.*

What a pity that my Lord Wiseley should have detracted from so exquisitely refined an avowal by such an unnecessary reservation! *Fortune* may indeed be some check to the gallantry of such a lover; but what has this *life* to do with the question?—In the present publication, Mr. Moore has mistaken absurdity for originality, triteness for wit, and the grossest and most unmeaning caricature for a portrait of life and manners.

ART. XI.—*Institutes of Latin Grammar.* By John Grant, A.M. 8vo. 10s. 6d. Longman. 1808.

THIS volume shews in every page the indubitable marks of diligence; and though it is, by necessity, a compilation, it is one which evidences thought, judgment, and experience.—We are not prepared to say, that there are no errors, superfluities, and deficiencies, in a work which aims at being an "ample as well as a correct digest of the Latin rules, with a copious enumeration of anomalies and exceptions," but we have no hesitation in asserting that it will fully answer its design as a book of reference for the master and senior scholar.—In page 175, Mr. Grant inserts a long list of verbal adjectives from Johnson and Ruddiman, 'of which, he observes, 'the greater part belong to classes above-mentioned, and some may be referred to other rules:' and in page 280, another list is given of "words having quod, ut, &c. or the infinitive mood after them,"—and then he remarks in a note,

'That the list itself might have been altogether omitted, without much loss or inconvenience: indeed upon a minute inspection, it appears to me both redundant and defective; and in some respects, so likely to perplex a learner, that I would advise him to rely chiefly on the general rule, and on his own observation.'

Would it not have been better to have pruned the excesses and supplied the defects of the two lists, rather than to have given them a place uncorrected?—The consolidation of all the lists now dispersed through the book into the shape of a general index or Catalogue Raisonné of the exemplified words, together with the observations and rules, as far as they are reducible to that form, would make a valuable supplement to this work.

CRITICAL MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

RELIGION.

ART. 12.—*Christian Unitarianism vindicated; being a Reply to a Work by John Bevan, Junior, entitled, a Defence of the Christian Doctrines of the Society of Friends. By Verax. 8vo. pp. 324. Johnson. 1808.*

WE feel no inclination to enter at length into the discussion which the opinions of Hannah Barnard have occasioned in the society of friends, or into the polemical matter of a more general nature, which is dispersed through these pages. Verax appears to be a writer of considerable ability and information; but the topics which have on this occasion employed his talents are not likely to interest the majority of our readers.

ART. 13.—*General Redemption the only proper Basis of general Beneficence: a Letter, addressed to Robert Hawker, D.D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth, suggested by his Defence of the London Female Penitentiary, recently established in the Vicinity of Islington. By John Evans, A.M. Morning Preacher at Worship Street, and Afternoon Preacher, Leather-lane, Holborn. 8vo. pp. 44. 1s. 6d. Sherwood. 1809.*

MR. Evans does not in this pamphlet profess to appear either as the opposer or the advocate of the London Female Penitentiary; but he writes in order to show the discordancy between the theological creed of Dr. Hawker, and the practical support which he gives to this benevolent institution. It affords us great pleasure to find that the practice of the Doctor is, in this instance, at variance with his creed; and if Mr. Evans had consulted us before he had published this pamphlet, we should strongly have dissuaded him from assailing the Doctor on this occasion with a charge of inconsistency. Whatever may be the notions of the Doctor, respecting the future happiness of any portion of mankind, it is with uncommon satisfaction that we behold him the kind-hearted and glowing advocate of such an institution as the London Female Penitentiary, whose object is to administer solace and instruction to an unfortunate class of human beings, who are in a most peculiar manner, the objects of sympathy and beneficence. We are glad to find that general benevolence is not in this instance excluded from the theological scheme of the Calvinists, and we should be very sorry to make them the object of animadversion or reproof because their conduct is imbued with a degree of universal charity which is not to be found in their speculative opinions. We shall not quarrel with Dr.

Hawker, for not assenting to the notions of Mr. Evans, respecting redemption, while he makes the benevolence of Jesus the pattern of his conduct in the path of life. One man may be benevolent upon the principle of sympathy, another on that of an enlightened selfishness, one from the force of habit, another from the impulse of sentiment; one may think benevolence metaphysically the perfection of virtue, another may regard it theologically as the most sacred injunction of Christ; one may practice it as a source of the sweetest internal satisfaction, another as the condition of future felicity and recompence,—but while the good is done, let us not endeavour to look with argus eyes into the bosom of the individual, and vainly endeavour to scrutinize the invisible spring which causes the sensitive pulsation of the heart, which fills the eyes with tears, and the hand with gifts of love.

POLITICS.

ART. 14.—*Observations on the National Debt; with a Plan for discharging it, so as to do complete Justice to the equitable Claims of the Stock-holder, and be, at the same time, highly advantageous to the Nation at large; with Hints towards a Financial Measure calculated to yield a net Revenue of more than Five Millions annually, without the smallest additional Charge to the Public.* 8vo. pp. 90. Mawman.

THE author proposes that every individual should give up one fifth of his property in order to extinguish the national debt, and he argues that the stock-holder, as well as every other species of proprietor, ought to contribute his share towards the accomplishment of this important object.

‘Certain taxes,’ says the author, ‘are laid upon the necessities of life for the purpose of paying the interest of the national debt. The stock-holder pays these taxes in proportion to his funded property and expenditure, exactly the same as any other person; he therefore contributes like any other proprietor, to pay a part of the interest which he himself receives; his funded property is mortgaged, the same as all other property, to pay this interest. Should the national debt be paid, he ought, of course, to pay from his property in the funds the same proportion of that debt which he now does of its interest. In this case he would have to pay part of the capital which he himself would have to receive, in the same manner as he now pays a part of the interest which he himself does receive.’

This is certainly true, as far as respects the measure of making the stock-holder contribute an equitable proportion of his property towards the payment of the debt; but, we much doubt, whether the plan itself, which the author recommends, would, if carried into execution, be productive of all the advantages which he details. The immediate discharge of the debt, supposing it possible in this or any other way, would cause a great quantity of superfluous

capital, which the necessities of trade, of commerce, and of agriculture could not readily absorb. Numerous annuitants on the funds, who now live on their interest, would then be obliged to live on their capital. The quantity of circulating medium would be increased beyond all due proportion to the necessity of exchange. The interest of money would sink much below its present standard, while the necessities of life would experience a still more exorbitant rise. The scenes of distress and confusion that would ensue would baffle description. Bitter, indeed, would be the result of the sudden and immediate annihilation of that debt, which is still an evil, but an evil which could not be abruptly removed without the production of greater ills. It may be compared to an unnatural excrescence which has so completely identified itself with the habit of the body politic that great peril would attend the sudden extirpation. The slow, the silent, and gradual extinction of the debt by means of a sinking fund, seems preferable to this, or any other plan for the immediate annihilation of the whole which has come under our examination. By the operation of the sinking fund, a certain portion of the debt is gradually discharged and the capital absorbed in the vortex of mercantile or other speculations. We think that the prosperity of the country would have been much greater if the debt had never been contracted, but we are not friends to any sudden or violent change in the physical or political system of man.

ART. 15.—Strictures on the present Government, civil, military, and political, of the British Possessions in India; including a View of the recent Transactions in that Country, which have tended to alienate the Affections of the Natives. In a Letter from an Officer, resident on the Spot to his Friend in England. 8vo. pp. 124. Hatchard 1808.

THESE Strictures appear to be the result of great good sense, sagacity, and moderation. The author develops the numerous abuses, which prevail in the civil and military administration of the company in the east: and shows the danger to which our possessions in that quarter are exposed. Some change of system is certainly expedient; and, if it be not soon adopted from choice, will ere long be compelled by necessity. The present system is compounded of the most discordant materials. The government in all parts, says the author, seems to have been formed by a chemist rather than a legislature. The author analyses the jarring mechanism of the Madras government, and shows the incoherence of its elementary principles. The governor is a distinct person from the commander in chief; and no small pains are taken to prevent them from acting in unison. The first coolness soon settles into implacable hostility. The supposed rights of the one are incompatible with the assumed dignity and importance of the other. The author says that the principal recommendation in the character of a commander in chief, is that 'he should have served in the guards,' that 'he should be in debt, or at least in needy circumstances,' and 'that he should never previously have performed any military exploit.' This officer usually

endeavours to strengthen his party by some crafty adviser, 'who has enjoyed the confidence of former commanders in chief,' and whose head is 'well stocked with the formulæ of protests and dissentient minutes,' to enable him to thwart the measures of the governor. Much is done by cabals in the government at home, but the web of intrigue seems to be more complicated in India than in Europe.

'In these realms, we never hear of your Portlands, your Bedfords, or your Richmonds; but, whether you are acquainted or connected with the wife of the private secretary to the governor or commander in chief—of the adjutant or quarter-master-general of the army—the chief secretary to government:—but, above all, should you have been at a country dancing-school with the wife or daughter of any person in power, your fortune is sure of being made. In short, we have as many families and compacts as you have; and with as many petty and local interests, continually playing into each other's hands, or wrangling for the loaves and fishes. And indeed, there is little prospect, under the present regime, of seeing any stop put to these cabals; for, whilst every ship from Europe brings out an investment of sisters and female cousins, to supply recruits to the fading branches of each family interest, you have only the option left you, of marrying into a league of Bond-street *versus* Leaden-hall-street, or of remaining an insulated bachelor, without an appointment: for, since the days of the old court of France, no part of the world has been so famous for petticoat interest as India is at this very moment.'

The author notices the always latent and often palpable animosity which subsists between the troops of the king and of the company. The original cause of jealousy which consisted in the inferiority of pecuniary advantage, has been removed, but a king's officer cannot readily bring himself to think that he is not a superior being to an officer who is *not* in the *regulars*. An officer in the company's service has 'a certain provision secured to him at the end of twenty-two years; but no honours, which are so much coveted by military men are held out to stimulate his courage and his zeal. During the conquest of India,

'Out of 2,500 officers, the smile of royal favour has not deigned to alight, upon one single or solitary instance of the many recorded brilliant actions of the company's officers, in the shape of the lowest degree of honour; although, within the same period, so plentifully displayed upon the shoulders of lord-mayors and sheriffs.'

The author investigates the real cause of the mutiny at Vellore, which he does not think to have been instigated by the princes of the Mysore family, but principally by the pertinacity of certain persons in causing a new turban to be worn by the native troops which, from its resemblance to a drummer's cap, excited their aversion to a degree bordering on fanatical abhorrence.

The impolitic attempt to christianize the Hindoos provokes the

animadversion of the author, who says that the proseliting zeal of Dr. Buchanan was instigated by his ambition to be 'the mitred head of an ecclesiastical establishment in India !!!'

POETRY.

ART. 16.—*The Senses, an Ode ; in the Manner of Collin's Ode on the Passions.* pp. 15. 4to. 1808. Ridgway.

THE author expresses his surprize that no poet since the time of Collins should have attempted a subject so like his own as the present. Now really we cannot perceive the poetical connexion between the senses and the passions ; that it exists most closely in nature no one can be ignorant, but so does the connexion between the teeth and the gums, or the nails and the fingers, and yet they are most matter-of-fact associations, utterly destitute of any capacity to be adorned, illustrated, or dignified by the brightest imagination. And we conceive, if Dr. Reid's inquiry into the five senses (the best which was ever instituted) was turned into verse, the only connexion it would have with the passions, would be with the violent passion of anger excited in the mind of the unwary purchaser. The æra of metaphysical poetry is gone by—praised be the power of good sense ! and in vain would this author attempt to revive the dull and exploded rhapsodies of Cowley and his forefathers. Besides, correctness is indispensable when philosophical truth is the object even a poet aims at ;—but what shall we say of an incorrect, cold, and insipid rhymers ? We are sorry to use such epithets. The author seems modest and well meaning, but the call of our duty is imperious. He is not, and never will be a poet. Are we harsh ? rather ask if we are unjust ; and to the author's own second thoughts we submit the following remarks upon some passages of his ode.

Page 10. 'First Hearing pour'd her tuneful tongue.'—

Is not this strange confusion ? can the author say that in this passage :

— Cynthius aures.

Vellit, et admonuit? —

Page 10. 'Comic stole,' is surely wrong. 'Togatæ,' are comedies, the matrona stolata is more appropriated to tragedy. But to return to the confusion of the senses. The eye, perchance, may be correctly allowed to speak. But what shall we say of the nose ? Page 11. Do we not immediately think of the court of China, where every mandarin sneezes upon the signal given by the emperor ? Do we not fancy we hear the bassoon and the trumpet ? Do we not snore ourselves over the author's five senses ; et omnis copia narium ? Taste 'addressing her voice to an admiring crowd,' page 12 ! Taste, considered as one of the senses, is downright rank absurdity. Taste never opens the mouth but for purposes of inglutition, ex-

peccoration &c. &c. Of feeling (page 13 and 14.) we choose to say nothing, the properties of the sense are more properly imagined than described, yet if a writer will describe them he is sure to succeed. Imagination in this case is truth, and we do not find any fault with our author's description.

We must conclude by observing that the repeated and unmeaning capitals (and even an adverb, page 15,) printed throughout this poem, together with the dashes and bad stops, do not contribute to lessen our disgust at the whole performance. Do let the author have recourse to some creditable employment in the hardware line, or other convenient business.

ART. 17.—*The Ladies Poetical Petition for a Winter Assembly at Newport in the Isle of Wight.* pp. 19. 4to. Ridgway, 2s. 6d. 1808.

THIS pamphlet purporteth to be sold by the *different* booksellers in Hampshire. We fear it has had but an *indifferent* sale, and yet it may be truly called an emphatic production; every other word being printed in italics, and doubtless containing some recondite meaning, as there is none obvious to the reader.

The metre of this petition, most facetiously denominated poetical is that of the Bath Guide; but the following couplet, which is a fair specimen of the whole, and consequently quite enough for quotation, will speak for itself and its companions. Heaven is supposed in the line before to have endowed the authoress and her fellow petitioners with wit, (a bold hypothesis enough) and it is then asked, whether heaven did for no purpose,

‘Give us—*genius*—and *feeling*—and *beauty*—and *tongues*,
Airs—*graces*—*attractions*—*hearts*—*mouths*—*ears*—and *lungs*?’

We may just add——‘and sides and back,
 And all the places in the almanack.’

ART. 18.—*The Family Picture, or Domestic Education.* 8c. 8c. 12mo. London. 1808.

THIS poem seems to us a mere echo of Cowper's *Tirocinium*; yet we cannot but remark one very striking difference between the copy and the prototype. Cowper with honest anger, whether properly directed we shall not inquire, inveighs in strong and perhaps coarse language against the vices of school-boys at public seminaries, and against their impudence, their debaucheries, their impiety. The present author professing the same intension has acted in a very different manner. In a man-millinery, gossamery, meretricious stile, he weaves out his feeble animadversions against the lasciviousness of boys; and some of his descriptions are so glowingly composed, that we cannot help thinking that our Mentor is some man of pleasure cloaked in the venerable guise of a preceptor; see particularly the fifty-third page beginning,

‘Such were the *Aspasias*, when to young delight, &c.’

and indeed the whole tenor of the poem appears to us in the same *luscious* stile.

We could point out numerous imitations of the *Tirocinium*, one shall suffice: Cowper says honestly and coarsely that waiter Dick has the school-boy's first praise for teaching him to drink deeply and sing bacchanalian catches, and, 'he continues,

'Some street-pacing harlot his first love.'

The author before us says:

'And say, your breasts while full potations move,
Say, striplings, what is Bacchus without love,
Ere adolescence o'er the blooming skin,
Yet glistens in its downy sprinklings thin;
Behold the boy of Busby's tribe adore,
With his first amorous incense a town-whore;
With spotless lips approach the harlot's breath,
And poor unpleasured victims suck in death.'

ART. 19.—*England and Spain, or Valour and Patriotism. By Felicia Dorothea Browne. 4to. Cadel and Davies. 1808.*

WE cannot felicitate Miss Felicia upon her admission into the sanctuary of divine poesy, but we think that she is a zealous and ardent proselyte of the outer court; and with such a 'theme she should o'ermount the lark.'

The following lines are spirited, but the poetical presage has not yet been verified by the event.

'Go bid the rolling orbs thy mandate hear,
Go stay the lightning in its wing'd career.
No, tyrant no, thy utmost force is vain,
The patriot arm of freedom to restrain:
Then bid thy subject bands in armour shine,
Then bid thy legions all their power combine;
Yet couldst thou summon myriads at command,
Did boundless realms obey thy sceptred hand,
E'en then her soul thy lawless might would spurn,
E'en then, with kindling fire, with indignation burn;
———Ye British herots may your trophies raise,
A deathless monument to future days;
Oh! may your courage still triumphant rise,
Exalt the 'lion banner' to the skies.
Transcend the fairest names in hist'ry's page,
The brightest actions of a former age;
The reign of freedom let your arms restore,
And bid oppression fall—to rise no more!
Then soon returning to your native isle,
May love and beauty hail you with their smile;
For you may conquest weave th' undying wreath,
And fame and glory's voice the songs of rapture breathe.'

MEDICINE.

Art. 20.—*Essay on Warm and Vapour Baths: with Hints for a new Mode of applying Heat and Cold, for the Cure of Disease, and the Preservation of Health. Illustrated by Cases. By Edward Kentish, M.D. Physician to the British Dispensary. pp. 114, 4s. 6d, Mawman. 1809.*

IN this work the author exhibits a brief sketch of the baths which were in use among the Greeks and Romans, and of those which are still used by the Russians, Turks, and Indians. He shows how heat may be applied with advantage to the surface of the body in rheumatism and gout; and he expatiates on the superior advantages of the vapour bath.

‘In the vapour bath,’ says the ingenious author, ‘the heat being applied to the skin in an aeriform state, unites with the insensible perspiration as it arises by the exhalants—condenses upon the surface in sensible perspiration, and drops from the body by its own weight, meeting with no resistance from the elastic vapour which is in the bath. Thus perspiration is more effectually induced by the vapour bath, than by the warm bath, at a lower temperature; and if perspiration is not induced, in a variety of cases, all the symptoms are aggravated. This consequently, is no small advantage of the one over the other. As a detersive, or cleanser of the skin, it acts more powerfully, and pleasantly than the warm bath.’

‘In all diseases of the skin, from the slightest shade of diseased secretion, to the most confirmed leprosy, I have found the vapour bath of the greatest utility.’—One advantage which the vapour bath possesses over the warm bath, and one of the greatest importance is, ‘its application to the whole internal surface of the chest.’—Dr. Kentish remarks that by accustoming the body to great vicissitudes of heat and cold, we may render ourselves insensible to those smaller variations of temperature, which are so frequent in the atmosphere, and from which no small portion of our maladies is derived.—‘The frequent use of hot and cold baths, at the intervals of one, two, or three days is a practice attended with the most beneficial effects; the habit, which the system thus acquires of accommodating itself to the impressions of a high and low temperature, renders it less susceptible to morbid torpor, from the frequent vicissitudes of our humid and variable climate, than it otherwise would be.’—The Doctor says that his method is that of an alterative plan, that he uses the vapour bath ‘to remove obstructions and that he alternates the cold bath to prevent debility.’

Art. 21.—*A practical Materia Medica, in which the various Articles are fully described, and divided into Classes and Orders, according to their Effects, their Virtues, Doses, and the Diseases in which they are proper to be exhibited are fully pointed out. Interspersed with some practical Remarks, and some select Formulæ, to which is added a general nosological Table, intended principally for the Use of Students and junior Practitioners. pp. 301. 5s. Highley. 1808.*

A PERFORMANCE well calculated to be useful to students and practitioners.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ART. 22.—*The complete Angler, or contemplative Man's Recreation: being a Discourse on Rivers, Fishponds, and Fishing. In two Parts, the first written by Mr. Isaac Walton; the second by Charles Cotton, Esq. with the Lives of the Authors; and Notes, historical, critical, supplementary, and explanatory. By Sir John Hawkins, Knt. 7th Edition. 8vo. Chosen Impressions 1l. 7s. boards, many Plates. Bagster, 1808.*

WE have only to notice this new and beautiful edition of a work which will be interesting, as long as any relish for pure and simple nature and just sentiment survives, for the purpose of pointing out the particular improvements, which it exhibits on the preceding impressions; these are sufficiently marked in the advertisement of the publisher, and consist in the incorporation of some additional observations of the late editor found in his hand-writing on the margin of his own copy of the last edition; in the restoration of the original engravings, (or rather the substitution of new ones in the place of those which had been so worn out in long service as to have been omitted altogether in the sixth edition;) corrections of erroneous punctuation and other faults of typography in Walton's text; a few supplementary particulars in the life of the author; and a few additional notes taken from precedent and subsequent writers on the subject of angling.

The plates are very admirably executed by Audinet.—Those of the different sorts of fishes are much more numerous than in the former editions, and are spirited and faithful delineations from nature.

In short, we think that great credit is due both to the editor and publisher, for the care they have taken to decorate honest Isaac Walton in a manner suitable to what his merits appear to demand from an age of such superlative decoration and finery as ours.

ART. 23.—*Scloppelaria; or Considerations on the Nature and Use of Rifled Barrel Guns, with Reference to their forming the Basis of a permanent System of National Defence agreeable to the Genius of the Country. By a Corporal of Riflemen. 8vo. pp. 251. Egerton. 1808.*

THE judicious and patriotic author has condensed into this useful work all that is known respecting the history, construction and properties of the rifle.—The English formerly excelled all nations in the use of the bow, which, in their hands, was a most powerful instrument of destruction, which constituted the terror of their enemies and the security of their friends.—If our countrymen were at present as preeminent in the use of the rifle, as they formerly were in that of the bow, an invasion would be an object of much less dread to them than to the enemy.—It is not improbable that the rifle will in time in a great measure supersede the use of the musquet. The rifle takes a longer time in loading; but the loss of time in this particular, is more than compensated by the much greater number of balls which take effect. A rifle in skilful hands is almost certain of killing or wounding at the distance of two hundred and fifty

yards; but no dependance is to be placed on the common musquet at the distance of only two hundred yards; and, all distances taken together, not more than one shot in two hundred is supposed to kill or wound.—The use of the rifle, too, must cause an immense saving of ammunition; and this is a matter of no small moment when we consider the value of a cartridge on its arrival in the East or West Indies, the expence of ammunition-waggons and the inconvenience and delay which a numerous train of carriages must cause in all military operations.

ART. 24.—*A Practical Treatise on Brewing, founded on Experiments, made with the Thermometer and Hydrometer, wherein is shown the Use of those Instruments in real Examples; to which are added plain and concise Directions for conducting each Process without them, illustrated by two small Brewings; with an Appendix, containing Directions for making Ginger Beer, Norfolk Punch, and a few made Wines. By A. Shero, who has been Butler to the Rev. Sir J. Broughton, Bt. upwards of Twenty Years. pp. 76. 3s. Longman. 1809.*

AN improved edition of a useful work. But three shillings is too much for seventy-six pages in 12mo.

ART. 25.—*A Companion to the Countess of Huntingdon's Hymns; being an Arrangement of Tunes and Music, adapted to all the Hymns collected by her Ladyship, and the Supplement authorized by her Trustees. By William Green, Clerk of Silver-street-Chapel. Peck, Lombard street.*

WE do not suppose that many of our readers will repair to the tabernacle to hear these hymns sung by the voices of the saints; but by those who love this kind of music, some tunes might be selected which are pleasing, simple, and well suited to aid devotional sensibility.

ART. 26.—*Introduction to an Examination of some Part of the internal Evidence respecting the Antiquity and Authenticity of certain Publications said to have been found in Manuscript at Bristol, written by a learned Priest and others in the Fifteenth Century; but generally considered as the supposititious Productions of an ingenious Youth of the present Age. By John Sherwin, M.D. Member of the College of Physicians, also of the College of Surgeons, and corresponding Member of the Medical Society. 8vo. pp. 137. Longman. 1809.*

WE thought that the Rowleyan controversy had been for ever laid at rest; and it was not without some surprise that we perceived the present attempt to force it again on the attention of the public. The question itself appears to have been completely decided in favour of Chatterton by the taste of Wharton and the sagacity of Tyrwhitt.—Dr. Sherwin, however, thinks otherwise; and though his book displays considerable reading and penetration, we have not discovered any remarks which carry conviction to our minds that the poems ascribed to Rowley were not written by Chatterton. Dr. Sherwin appears to possess talents which we should be happy to see employed on some literary topic more likely to interest general curiosity.

ART. 27.—*Quid Nunc ? Selections from the Poems of the late W. Cowper, Esq. contrasted with the Works of Knox, Paley, and Others ; on Fashion, Cards, Charity, Clergy, Priest, Pulpit, Duelling, Slander, Lying, Duplicit'y, Domestic Happiness, Vice, Seduction.* Price 1s. 6d. Hatchard. 1809.

A SELECTION of the most beautiful parts of various English authors, both in prose and verse, is very desirable, and would prove of much utility to our rising generation ; but the work before us, though very good in its way, is put in such a shape, and so limited, that it will not be found useful for schools, and we trust that *grown children* can repeat by heart all that is in the present selection without tripping. If, however, they act up to the good lessons that are laid down in this little selection they may exclaim with the poet, ' Let the gall'd jade wince, our withers are unwrung.'

ART. 28.—*The French Student's Vade Mecum, or indispensable Companion : in which are displayed the different Cases of Persons and Things, as required by all the French Verbs and Adjectives, the different Propositions which they govern, those required by the Substantives, and the different Moods which must follow the Conjunctions.* By the Rev. P.C. Le Vasseur, a Native of France, and Chaplain of the Cathedral of Lesieur. Longman. 1809.

WE do not think that the title-page promises more than will be found in this little work itself, which is a useful book for reference, and will be of much assistance to the memory, particularly in writing French. We find many who speak this language fluently, and even elegantly, yet are very deficient in writing good French. This work is well adapted for the improvement of those who are desirous both of writing, and of speaking the French language correctly.

ART. 29.—*The Ecclesiastical and University Annual Register for the Year 1808, with an Appendix, containing an Index to the English Rectories, Vicarages, Curacies, and Donatives ; with the Valuation in the King's Books, the Names of the Patrons, and the Number of Parishioners in each Parish.* 8vo. 16s. Baldwin. 1809.

THIS work does not contain much matter for criticism, but our clerical friends will find it a storehouse of very valuable information. It contains an account of all the ecclesiastical proceedings in parliament, in the different dioceses, of the two Universities, of the several clerical institutions, with biographical notices of deceased clergymen, &c. during the preceding year. The review of ecclesiastical books, which is to be found in numerous other works had better be omitted, and the biographical department enlarged. This volume contains a most useful index to all the ecclesiastical preferments in the kingdom, with the valuation in the king's books, the names of patrons, &c.

ART. 30.—*Primitia, or Essays and Poems on various Subjects ; religious moral, and entertaining, by Conop Thiricall, eleven Years of Age ;*

dedicated by Permission to the Lord Bishop of Dromore. The Preface by his Father the Rev. Thomas Thirlwall, M.A. 12mo. pp. 290. Printed for the Author, by T. Plummer, Seething-lane. 1809.

IF this work be, as the Rev. T. Thirlwall asserts, exclusively the production of him whose name it bears, we must say that it exhibits an extraordinary maturity of intellect. The first essay in the collection was written when the author was only seven years of age, and in many of the pages which were composed between that and his eleventh year we behold Master Conop Thirlwall discussing scriptural and moral topics with all the solemnity of a theological sage. We are informed that this surprising youth,

‘At a very early period read English so well that he was taught Latin at three years of age, and at four read Greek with an ease and fluency which astonished all who heard him. From that time he has continued to improve himself in the knowledge of the Greek, Latin, French, and English languages. His talent for composition appeared at the age of seven, from an accidental circumstance; his mother, in my absence, desired his elder brother to write his thoughts upon a subject for his improvement, when the young author took it into his head to ask her permission to take the pen in hand too; his request was of course complied with, without the most remote idea he could write an intelligible sentence, when in a short time he composed that which is first printed, ‘On the Uncertainty of Life.’ From that time he was encouraged to cultivate a talent of which he gave so flattering a promise, and generally on a Sunday chose a subject from scripture. The following essays are selected from these lucubrations.’

As a curiosity we will quote the first essay ‘On the Uncertainty of Life;’ which is mentioned above.

‘How uncertain is life! for no man can tell in what hour he shall leave this world. What numbers are snatched away in the bloom of youth, and turn the fine expectations of their parents into sorrow! The young man may die by evil habits: what a grief to the parent! what a disgrace to the child! All the promising pleasures of this life will fade, and we shall be buried in the dust.

‘God takes away a good prince from his subjects, only to transplant him into everlasting joys in heaven. A good man is not dispirited by death: for it only takes him away, that he may feel the pleasures of a better world. Death comes unawares, but never takes virtue with it. Edward the sixth died in his minority, and disappointed his subjects, to whom he had promised a happy reign.’

We are informed that Master Thirlwall did not discover a taste for poetry till a later period; but this volume exhibits some poetical pieces composed when he was eleven years old. But these, as well as the essays of the author in prose, display talents far beyond

his years. We shall extract a specimen of his poetry. It shall be the character of Colax, from the last piece in the volume, entitled
 ‘ Characters often seen but little marked, a satire.’

‘ Colax has not a single grain of pride,
 But cannot bear of friend or foe to chide ;
 See what he will, detest whate’er he see,
 His neighbours’ words and his are sure to agree.
 Comes up an artful knave, to Colax hies,
 Joyful to meet an all complying prize ;
 Colax submits, an unopposing prey,
 And has not heart to drive the rogue away.
 Colax has seeds of virtue in his breast,
 And there for Colax will they ever rest ;
 His fear of saying what he thinks offends,
 Makes ev’ry rogue and him most constant friends.
 That Colax has good parts no doubt is true,
 If Colax would but call them out to view.
 His casting vote a worthy friend desir’d,
 He gladly gave the easy boon requir’d ;
 Another soon appears—the same request,
 He hates the man, his principles detests ;
 To sooth him yet, he blames the man he loves,
 And disavows the choice his heart approves.
 ’Tis thus a false mistaken sense of shame,
 Impairs his fortune, and destroys his fame ;
 To ev’ry rogue he bends a servile tool,
 And all desire a mild compliant fool :
 And thus will Colax sink into the grave,
 The friend of truth, but error’s greatest slave.

Though it is always with delight yet it is never without trembling apprehension that we behold such premature display of intellectual strength. We fear lest such excellence, like a flower which blossoms in the morning, should frustrate the hopes of the beholder, and wither before noon ! We know besides that the warm and vivid praise which is bestowed on the exhibition of such juvenile talent, is apt to produce subsequent neglect. We hope, however, that this will not be the case with Master Thirlwall, and that the precocity of his talents will not accelerate their decay, nor the eulogies which are passed on his first attempts relax his subsequent exertions.

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